

TWO PALAEOLOGAN MOSAIC ICONS
IN THE
DUMBARTON OAKS COLLECTION

OTTO DEMUS

PORTABLE mosaic icons¹ are among the rarest and most precious objects of Byzantine art. This is the result not only of the ravages of time; the chances of survival were better for mosaic icons than, for instance, for jewelry and goldsmith's work which were so often destroyed because of their material value; better also than for painted icons, because of the greater durability of the medium. That we have so few of them is in great part due to the fact that they were from the beginning a rare and costly species: the entire production must have been very small.

In assessing the number of portable mosaic icons which have come down to us, care must be taken to eliminate all mosaic icons or fragments thereof which were originally wall mosaics and which became "portable" only when detached from the wall, mostly in recent times. Quite a few of these have, at one time or another, been mistaken for portable mosaics; e. g., the mosaic fragments of the Virgin in the Museums of Palermo (from Calatamauro)² and Cortona (from the demolished church of S. Andrea).³

An interesting species in themselves are the *templon* mosaics, some of which are still *in situ*—like those of the Porta Panagia at Trikkala, Thessaly⁴—while others were removed from their original context—like those of the Xenophontos monastery of Mt. Athos.⁵ All these mosaics share their chief characteristics, especially the setting bed of mortar, with "normal" wall mosaics.

As a matter of fact, the nature of the setting bed seems to be the only safe criterion for distinguishing portable mosaics, in the specific meaning of the term, from fragments of wall mosaics: genuine portable mosaics are, without exception, set in wax or resin on a wooden backing. The size of the cubes, on the other hand, cannot be relied upon for defining this group: there are portable mosaics with tesserae as large as those of normal wall mosaics, whereas some wall mosaics show exceptionally small cubes, especially in the faces of the figures.

While the size of the cubes does not serve to distinguish genuine portable mosaics from fragments of wall mosaics, it does help to establish another

¹ The following study is a combination of two lectures which were delivered at Dumbarton Oaks in 1951 and 1958 respectively. The first, about portable mosaic icons in general, appears here greatly reduced: the second, on the two Dumbarton Oaks panels, is somewhat amplified. During the preparation of the second lecture I enjoyed the kind help and advice of the Director and the scholars of Dumbarton Oaks, especially of Professor Sirarpie Der Nersessian who conducted the Symposium of 1958.

The author is preparing a corpus of Byzantine portable mosaics. For valuable help in this enterprise he should like to thank Mr. Boris Ermoloff of Paris and Prof. D. Talbot Rice of Edinburgh. At present, apart from handbooks and special publications, the following general treatments of this subject may be consulted: E. Müntz, "Les mosaïques portatives," *Bulletin monumental*, LII (Caen, 1886), p. 223 ff.; D. T. Rice, "New Light on Byzantine Portative Mosaics," *Apollo*, XVIII (1933), p. 265 ff.; S. Bettini, "Appunti per lo studio dei mosaici portatili bizantini," *Felix Ravenna*, XLVI (1938-41), p. 7 ff.; O. Demus, "Byzantinische Mosaikminiaturen," *Phaidros*, III (1947), p. 190 ff.

² O. Demus, *The Mosaics of Norman Sicily* (London, 1949), pp. 189, 191, 311.

³ See A. Bernardini and A. Castri, *Cortona, Guida Turistica* (Arezzo, 1951), p. 13.

⁴ S. Bettini, *op. cit.*, p. 37, with bibliography and illustrations.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 37.

distinction, namely that between two more or less clearly definable groups of portable mosaics proper. The real distinction, it is true, is one of the size of the icon itself rather than of single tesserae; but the size of the tesserae is usually determined by the size of the entire panel—large icons using large, small icons small, sometimes minute, tesserae. In any case, an analysis of the measurements of all known portable mosaics reveals that there are two clearly distinct groups: a group of large icons which range in size from 23 by 34 to 62 by 95 centimeters, and a group of small icons which measure from 6 by 10 to 18 by 26 centimeters. The gap between the two groups is in fact much greater than would appear from their respective dimensions, since the icons of the “large” group represent without exception half-figures, while the larger icons of the “small” group contain many-figured compositions. Thus, the scale of the figures in the “large” icons is at least ten (sometimes even twenty) times that of the figures in the “small” icons. It is natural that minute tesserae were used for composing the tiny figures of the “small” group.

Since we are dealing in this paper with icons of the “small” group, a few words will suffice to describe the species of “large” portable icons. All ten or so icons of this group, which are all that have come down to us, are half-figure versions of greatly venerated prototypes, most of them bearing the distinctive names of the icons from which they are derived, like $\tilde{\text{IC}} \tilde{\text{XC}} \text{O } \text{ΕΛΕΗΜΩΝ}$ (Berlin) or $\tilde{\text{MP}} \tilde{\text{ΘY}} \text{H } \text{ΕΠΙCΚΕYIC}$ (Athens). Actually, they are nothing but mosaic reproductions of painted icons, and, as far as we know, were regarded, treated, and used exactly like large-scale icons in painting. It seems that they were destined solely for ecclesiastic use, to be hung on the walls of a church or to be displayed on tables (*proskynetaria*, *analogia*).⁶ The arrangement of the tesserae in the earlier examples of these large mosaic icons, as, e. g., the Hodegetria from the Pammakaristos church, now in the Patriarchate of Constantinople,⁷ an eleventh-century icon measuring 60 by 85 cms., is exactly the same as that of wall mosaics—the nearest parallels to the Pammakaristos Hodegetria being among the mosaics of St. Sophia in Kiev.⁸ True, the tesserae of the Constantinople Virgin are somewhat smaller, but their arrangement in form-defining, curvilinear rows of cubes, full of plastic tension, is the same as in Kiev or in other eleventh-century wall mosaics. At a later date, however, specific decorative effects made their appearance, effects which are foreign to monumental art. A good example of this decorative style is another Hodegetria, that of the Monastery of St. Catherine on Mount Sinai which belongs to the thirteenth century.⁹ The golden highlights of the drapery (*chrysographia*), the ornamentation of the background with rinceaux and other motifs, and the complicated finesse of a technique employing infinitesimal cubes place the

⁶ See the narrative of Anthony of Novgorod, in J. P. Richter, *Quellen der byzantinischen Kunstgeschichte* (Vienna, 1897), p. 60.

⁷ G. A. Sotiriou, “Ἡ εἰκὼν τῆς Παμμακαρίστου,” Πρακτικά τῆς Ἀκαδημίας Ἀθηνῶν, VIII (1933), p. 359 ff.; A. M. Schneider, *Byzanz*, Istanbul Forschungen, VIII (1936), p. 41, pl. 7.

⁸ O. Powstenko, *The Cathedral of St. Sophia in Kiev* (New York, 1954), pl. 45.

⁹ G. and M. Sotiriou, *Icons du Mont Sinai* (Athens, 1959), p. 85, pl. 71; O. Demus, “Die Entstehung des Palaeologenstils in der Malerei,” *Berichte zum XI. Internat. Byz. Kongress*, IV, 2 (Munich, 1958), p. 55.

Sinai icon in a class entirely distinct from that of the Constantinople Virgin. Both form and technique differ widely from those of wall mosaic; the artist seems rather to have aimed at producing the combined effects of panel painting, book illumination, and enamel.

This mixture of technical styles and consequent wealth of effects is not only indicative of an experimental period, the formative phase of a new style, the Palaeologan; it also foreshadows the distinctive style of the second group of mosaic icons, that of "small" portable mosaics which may be properly called miniature mosaics. The Sinai icon is, in fact, nearest to these miniature mosaics in both style and technique as well as in its dimensions; measuring as it does 23 by 34 cms., it is the smallest known icon of the "large" group, the only mosaic icon that can be said to occupy an intermediary position between the two groups. Its position in time is also somewhat intermediary: belonging to the thirteenth century, it stands midway between the period in which most of the icons of the "large" group originated—the eleventh century—and that which saw the flowering of the miniature mosaics, the fourteenth century.

This does not mean, of course, that the Sinai icon precedes in date all portable mosaics of the "small" group. A few of the latter are somewhat earlier and there is at least one miniature mosaic which is considerably older than the Hodegetria: the tiny panel, in the Sinai Monastery, with the half figure of St. Demetrius,¹⁰ which displays the style of the first half of the twelfth century, but may be somewhat later. If not the earliest, this icon is at least one of the oldest of the "small" group. There is, as yet, little in this panel to indicate the direction which the stylistic development of the species was to take in the following century. Apart from the pattern of cubes depicting the Saint's coat of mail, the technique is almost that of wall mosaic (excepting, of course, the minute size of the tesserae), and, were it not for the almost fragile delicacy of the elongated face and narrow shoulders, the figure might be said to exhibit a monumental style. To see in these characteristics and in the decorative pattern of the armour an influence from the realm of book illumination is, perhaps, not quite justified; but such influences certainly made themselves felt in the first half of the thirteenth century, and it was in the course of that century that the art of miniature mosaic developed its own technique, its own style.

In the most characteristic specimens of this group of minute mosaics, the tesserae, about half a millimeter square (or even smaller), are set so close together that the interstices are scarcely visible. The tesserae are mostly of enamel paste; certain colors, however, are rendered by semiprecious stones like lapis lazuli and malachite. The gold and silver cubes consist, in some cases, not of glass with metal foil, but of solid metal. The background is rarely made up of golden tesserae alone: checkered patterns of three or four colors frame or fill part of both the ground and the haloes. Everything contributes towards a colorful, rich, and precious effect.

An analysis of the iconographic data, not only of the extant miniature mosaics but also of those that are adequately described in literary sources,

¹⁰ G. and M. Sotiriou, *Ikônes*, p. 84, pl. 70.

shows a preponderance of single figures, either full-length or busts. The single figure most often represented is that of the Virgin, followed, in the order of the frequency of their representation, by Christ, St. Nicholas, John the Baptist, Michael, Demetrius, Theodore, and George. Other single figures represented are St. Anne, Basil, Daniel, John Chrysostom, John the Evangelist, Peter and Samuel. Thus, the Saints of the Empire (Nicholas), of Constantinople (John the Baptist), and of the court (Michael, Demetrius, Theodore, George) are the subjects most frequently represented.

As for representations of scenes (we know of about a dozen icons of this kind), with one exception these are restricted to the great feasts of the Church—the exception being the Forty Martyrs of Sebaste, which is not really a scene but a collective portrait of saints.

Thus the subject matter represented in miniature mosaics presents no exceptional features; on the contrary, only the most widely venerated subjects are depicted. Nor is there anything in the iconographic treatment to suggest that any of these icons originated in a provincial atmosphere: their iconographical purism points rather to Constantinople itself or, at least, to one of the great centers of Byzantine art in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries.

As befits the small scale of these icons, they do not represent the “great,” “public,” or monumental themes, as, e. g. the Pantokrator, the enthroned Virgin, etc., but rather the standing Saviour, the Eleousa, or the Glykophilousa; the saints are introduced as patrons, in frontal half figures, or as intercessors, standing in a three-quarter posture, to transmit the prayers of the worshippers to Christ. In short, these icons belong, thematically as well as artistically, to an intimate form of art, destined for the chosen few, for a select upper class.

There are other features which substantiate the conviction that the miniature mosaics are, indeed, products of a court art, that the whole genre belongs to the aulic sphere; such as, for instance, the frames of the icons, most of which, judging from preserved examples, seem to have been made of chased silver. Several of the frames that have come down to us contain figural representations, usually full figures or busts of the apostles and other saints;¹¹ in the case of the Crucifixion icon of Vatopedi the frame is decorated with a complete cycle of the twelve great church festivals.¹² The frame of another Vatopedi icon, with the standing figure of St. Anne, presents a full devotional programme, with busts and full figures of saints, and with the Hetoimasia worshipped by angels.¹³ Some of these icons have especially interesting frames: the frame of the icon of St. John the Evangelist in the Great Lavra of Mt. Athos,¹⁴ is decorated

¹¹ See the icons of Esphigmenou, Lavra, Patmos, and Vatopedi (St. Anne). On Byzantine silver frames in general see A. Bank in *Vizantiiskii Vremennik*, XIII (1957), p. 211 ff.

¹² W. Felicetti-Liebenfels, *Geschichte der byzantinischen Ikonenmalerei* (Olten-Lausanne, 1956), pl. 75, p. 66. The sequence of the feasts is here somewhat confused; moreover, the Annunciation occurs twice, while the Crucifixion is missing.

¹³ O. Wulff and M. Alpatov, *Denkmäler der Ikonenmalerei* (Hellerau, 1925), p. 56, fig. 18; W. Felicetti-Liebenfels, *op. cit.*, p. 64, pl. 74.

¹⁴ N. P. Kondakov, *Pamiatniki khristianskogo iskusstva na Afone* (St. Petersburg, 1902), p. 114 ff., pl. 34.

with ten, perhaps earlier, enamel medallions, showing the Hetoimasia (in the upper center) and nine busts, representing (in the bottom row) St. John the Baptist with his parents and (above) six Saints bearing the name of John. A similar arrangement, with portraits of the *synonymoi* of the Forerunner surrounding an icon of the Birth of the Baptist, is described by Manuel Philes,¹⁵ which suggests that the frames of precious icons conformed to certain types.

Another most interesting frame is that of an icon of St. Demetrius in Sassoferato. Its decoration, with emblems of the Palaeologi and with an inscription, the historical significance of which has been studied by the late A. A. Vasiliev, suggests that this icon was produced at Thessalonica, most probably for a member of the Palaeologan dynasty.¹⁶

The Sassoferato icon is not the only one that can be traced back to imperial ownership or patronage. The St. John mosaic in Lavra,¹⁷ the St. Anne in Vatopedi,¹⁸ the Virgin in Sta Maria della Salute in Venice,¹⁹ and the two panels representing the twelve great feasts in the Opera del Duomo of Florence²⁰—all, according to tradition, were imperial gifts. In some cases the representations themselves suggest that the panels were commissioned by, or made as gifts for, emperors. George, Theodore, Demetrius, and Michael, — holy warriors and special protectors of the emperors—would, of course, have been their favorites. It is noteworthy that the court poet Manuel Philes chose several icons of St. George and St. Michael as subjects of his poetic descriptions (*ἐκφράσεις*); another poet of the time, Markos Eugenikos, described icons of St. Demetrius.²¹ It is, perhaps, especially significant that the archangel Michael, the holy namesake of Michael VIII Palaeologus who reconquered Constantinople in 1261, is found six times among the seventy odd mosaic icons which we know through both extant works and literary sources. The prophet Daniel, too, who is occasionally represented on portable mosaics and whose icons Manuel Philes describes in his poems, has a certain connection with Michael VIII Palaeologus. That Emperor was called a “new Daniel” and he applied to himself, with the help of puns on his own name as well as on that of his dynasty, the prophecies of Daniel VII : 9 and X : 13, 21, in which the

¹⁵ *Manuelis Philae carmina*, ed. E. Miller, I (Paris, 1855), p. 58, no. CXXXIII.

¹⁶ S. Bettini, *op. cit.*, p. 19 ff.; A. A. Vasiliev, “The Historical Significance of the Mosaic of St. Demetrius at Sassoferato,” *Dumbarton Oaks Papers*, 5 (1950), p. 31 ff., with bibliography.

¹⁷ N. P. Kondakov, *Pamiatniki*, *op. cit.*, p. 114 f. Tradition connects this icon with John Tzimiskes, a date which is, of course, much too early.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 113.

¹⁹ S. Bettini, *op. cit.*, p. 10 ff.; O. Demus, “Die Entstehung”, p. 16, note 70.

²⁰ Reproduced in color by A. Grabar, *La peinture byzantine* (Geneva, 1953), p. 191. For the story of the dedication see A. F. Gori, *Thesaurus veterum diptychorum* III (Florence, 1759), p. 320. An icon (or a pair of icons?) with the twelve feasts, described by Manuel Philes (ed. E. Miller *op. cit.*, p. 9, no. XXIV), was dedicated by John Kanabes.

²¹ *Manuelis Philae carmina*, I, pp. 36, 46 f., 317 f., 357 f., 457, 460; II, pp. 202, 287 f., 415. On *ekphraseis* in general see A. Muñoz, “Alcune fonti letterarie per la storia dell’arte bizantina,” *N. Bollettino di Archeologia Cristiana*, X (1904), p. 221 ff.; *idem*, “Descrizioni di opere d’arte in un poeta bizantino del secolo XIV (Manuel Philes),” *Repertorium für Kunstwissenschaft*, XXVII (1904), p. 309 ff.; *idem*, “Le Ekphraseis nella letteratura bizantina e i loro rapporti con l’arte figurata,” *Recueil Kondakov* (Prague, 1926), p. 139.

παλαιὸς τῶν ἡμερῶν and "Prince Michael" appear as the saviors of the Chosen People.²²

These considerations lead us to believe that miniature mosaics were a specific genus of imperial art. Unfortunately, the written sources do not tell us anything further of the rôle that portable mosaic icons played in the imperial household. There is, for instance, no justification for identifying them with the precious "ergomoukia" which, according to Constantine Porphyrogenitus, were kept, together with the crown insignia, in the Pentapyrgion, a five-turreted cupboard in the Imperial Palace.²³ This strange word has defied translation, and Labarte's suggestion that it is a scribe's error for "ergomouzakia," and means "portable mosaics," is entirely unfounded.²⁴

Kondakov proposed a somewhat different interpretation of this puzzling word: according to him "ergomoukia" ("une abbreviation de Ergomouzakia") were mosaics made of glass which, therefore, resembled enamels—a supposition no more tenable than Labarte's.²⁵ It is much more likely that the "ergomoukia" were embroideries; according to Constantine Porphyrogenitus they were hung in the Pentapyrgion,²⁶ whereas mosaic icons would, in all likelihood, have been stored lying in their wooden boxes, one of which is (or was) preserved in Sassoferrato.²⁷

A few other alleged references to miniature mosaics should also be discounted, so that we have, in fact, very few specific references to them in contemporary sources. The most interesting occur in the works of Markos Eugenikos and Manuel Philes who have left us several poetic descriptions of such icons, one or two of which may refer to works that have actually survived.²⁸ The wording of these descriptions is a strong indication that the miniature mosaic icons were considered as precious gifts and used mainly for private worship.

Not a single mosaic icon is dated. The frame of one, the Eleousa of Sta Maria della Salute in Venice, bears, it is true, an inscription on its reverse, giving the date 1115, the name of the artist, and other details, and this has been taken seriously by a number of authors.²⁹ But the frame is of the fifteenth century

²² See A. Martini, "Manuelis Philae carmina inedita," *Atti della R. Accademia di Archeologia, Lettere e Belle Arti*, XX (Supplement, 1900), p. 46; *Manuelis Philae carmina*, ed. E. Miller, I, p. 50, etc. For the identification of Michael VIII with Daniel see C. Sathas in *Revue archéologique*, I (1877), p. 99.

²³ J. Ebersolt, *Le Grand Palais de Constantinople et le Livre des Cérémonies* (Paris, 1910), p. 82.

²⁴ J. Labarte, *Histoire des arts industriels*, II (Paris, 1864), p. 47.

²⁵ N. P. Kondakov, *Histoire et monuments des émaux byzantins* (Frankfurt am Main, 1892), p. 102. Another Greek term, σαρούτια, was also taken to mean mosaic icons: W. Nissen, *Die Diataxis des Michael Attaliates von 1077* (Jena, 1894). The correct interpretation of this word, which meant icons of copper, has been given by S. Vryonis, "The Will of a Provincial Magnate, Eustathius Boilas (1059)," *Dumbarton Oaks Papers*, 11 (1957), p. 268.

²⁶ *De Cerimoniis*, Bonn ed., I, p. 582.

²⁷ L. Serra, *L'Arte nelle Marche*, I (Pesaro, 1929), p. 344.

²⁸ See, e. g., *Manuelis Philae carmina*, I, p. 9; A. Muñoz, "Descrizioni," p. 390 ff.

²⁹ So S. Bettini, *op. cit.*, p. 10 ff.; D. T. Rice, *op. cit.*, p. 265, as against V. N. Lazarev, "Byzantine Icons in the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Centuries," *The Burlington Magazine*, LXXI (1937), p. 250, who rightly regards the inscription as apocryphal.

If there is anything at all genuine in the inscription, it may refer to the year 1315, not 1115; the name Manuel (allegedly Manuel I, whose dates, however, do not correspond to 1115, since he reigned from 1143 to 1180) may originally have designated the despot Manuel Palaeologus. But, as the entire inscription is an almost incredible farrago of nonsense, it is more likely that it was made up in Venice without any basis whatsoever.

and the inscription is a naive and highly phantastic invention of that time; moreover, the style of the icon is indubitably Palaeologan. The fanciful inscription on the reliquary in which the icon of the Saviour in Sta Maria in Campitelli, in Rome, is now encased is equally valueless.³⁰ This inscription claims that the reliquary was the *altare viaticum* of St. Gregory of Nazianzus; in addition, it gives the name of a goldsmith, "GG," that is George or Gregory, who has been tentatively identified with an artist of that name mentioned in an inscription of 1117. However, the identification is purely conjectural and the mosaic panel itself seems to have become a part of the reliquary only in the seventeenth century. Its style points to the middle of the thirteenth century. Other traditions, too, like the one that connects the mosaic icon of St. John the Evangelist in Lavra with the Emperor John Tzimiskes at the end of the tenth century, have to be discounted as having no basis whatever.³¹ It is only in the fourteenth century that we are on firmer ground: the Sassoferato icon can be connected with one of the Palaeologan Emperors, possibly Michael VIII or Andronicus II,³² and the two magnificent mosaics with the twelve feasts, in Florence,³³ must have been made before 1394, when they were given to S. Giovanni by a Venetian-born lady, the widow of a cubicularius of the Emperor John Cantacuzenus. As it is most likely that she or her husband acquired the two panels before the downfall of their patron in 1354/55, this date would appear to be a safe *terminus ante quem* for the mosaics—a *terminus* which is not very helpful since the style of the two mosaics places them, in any case, in the first half of the fourteenth century.

The time of John Cantacuzenus seems, generally speaking, to mark the end of the period in which portable mosaic icons were made: about the middle of the fourteenth century Cantacuzenus ordered the icons throughout the Empire to be stripped of their jewels, *thringia* (i. e. silver mountings), and frames so that the precious metals might be melted down for coinage.³⁴

We have no such convenient record to connect with the beginning of the art of miniature mosaic so that we are thrown back on stylistic dating. Judging from the approximate dates that can be assigned to the extant portable mosaics of the "small" variety, the majority of these seems to have originated in the two generations from about 1260 to 1320; a few are earlier, one (the St. Demetrius of Sinai) even belongs to the twelfth century. As in the case of some other branches of Byzantine art, e. g. sepulchral sculpture³⁵ and painted icons, it was during the first half of the thirteenth century that the art form of miniature mosaic was fully realized; and as in those, the patronage of western barons and clerics may have played a part not only in keeping the technique alive, but in elaborating this specific form of art.

³⁰ A. Colasanti, "Reliquiari medioevali in chiese Romane," *Dedalo*, XIII (1933) p. 288, fig. on p. 293; A. Valente, "Intorno ad un orafio del secolo XII," *Bollettino d'arte*, XXXI (1937-38), p. 261 ff.

³¹ N. P. Kondakov, *Pamiatniki*, p. 114.

³² See *supra*, note 16.

³³ See *supra*, note 20.

³⁴ J. Ebersolt, *Les arts somptuaires de Byzance* (Paris, 1923), p. 108 (after Nicephorus Gregoras, Bonn ed., II, p. 748).

³⁵ Thus A. Grabar in a lecture held in Dumbarton Oaks in May 1958.

With a life-span of scarcely more than a century, the art of miniature mosaic was one of the most short-lived art forms of Byzantium. This factor as well as the costliness of the materials and the complexity of the technique,³⁶ makes it certain that the production was not a very large one. Of course, only a part of this production is known to us from extant works and from data preserved in written sources; among the latter, a few inventories are the most valuable. The richest collections of portable mosaic icons, both large and small, that were ever formed were those of Pope Paul II and of Lorenzo Medici (il Magnifico), the inventories of which have come down to us. The difficulty is, however, that the term "mosaic" was often used loosely, being also applied to enamel. Of several icons mentioned in these and other inventories (e.g. that donated to St. Peter's by Cardinal Bessarion) it is not even certain that they were of mosaic and not painted;³⁷ nor do we know in all cases of reliably reported portable mosaics whether these belonged to the large or to the small variety. However, it may be said with all due caution that we have data concerning thirty to forty miniature mosaics that have perished and that twenty-nine are now extant; eight of these are in Italy, five in Russia, four on Mt. Athos; whereas other countries possess only one or two such icons. All mosaic icons are at present in the possession of churches or museums so that, unless unknown ones are discovered, it is hardly likely that any private or public collection will henceforth be able to acquire any of these precious panels.

All the more remarkable, therefore, is the acquisition of two of the finest miniature mosaics by the Dumbarton Oaks Collection, in 1947 and 1954. It needed luck and acumen, assisted by generosity, to secure for the Collection these two icons which are, perhaps, the last of their kind to change hands.

THE ICON OF THE FORTY MARTYRS OF SEBASTE³⁸

(Figures 1-3)

The wooden panel which has lost its metal frame measures 16 by 22 cms. The mosaic surface has suffered seriously; there are a great many cracks which crisscross the entire area but which are most noticeable in the upper third of the area. In this part there are also two large gaps and a number of smaller ones. One of the two large gaps is on the left-hand side, in the gold ground above the heads of the figures: it affects the upper contours of four

³⁶ The claim of the apocryphal inscription on the back of the Sta Maria della Salute icon (see *supra*, note 29) that its author, "Quidam Theodorus Constantinopolitanus," spent twenty years making this and another mosaic of the same size is, of course, just as much nonsense as the affirmation that the artist was created baron by the Emperor for this achievement. The latter motif might be derived from the story told by the Continuator of Theophanes (Bonn ed., p. 452) about Theodoros Belonas.

³⁷ E. Müntz, "Les mosaïques portatives," p. 229 ff.; *idem*, *Les arts à la Cour des Papes*, II (Paris, 1879), pp. 142, 201 ff.; E. Müntz and A. L. Frothingham, *Il Tesoro della Basilica di S. Pietro in Vaticano dal XIII al XV secolo* (Rome, 1883), p. 111 ff.

³⁸ *Handbook of the Dumbarton Oaks Collection* (Washington, D. C., 1955), no. 290, p. 147; O. Demus, "An unknown Mosaic Icon of the Palaeologan Epoch," *Byzantina Metabyzantina*, I/1 (New York, 1946), p. 107 ff.

heads and the part of the inscription between the Γ and the second C of ΟΙ ΑΓ[ΙΟΙ ΤΕC]CΑΡΑΚΟΝΤΑ. The damage on the right-hand side is more serious: its area is about one-ninth of the entire surface and extends over a part of the composition, blotting out one of the most important iconographic details of the scene. However, the main group of the Martyrs, that is thirty-nine figures or heads, is very well preserved, with only a few tesserae missing where the cracks intersect one another. The Martyrs stand in three rows, the foremost one consisting of full figures, the middle one of busts, and the upper one of hardly more than heads. The ice on which the figures stand is olive green, grey, and white, with brownish rocks in the foreground; the loin cloths are shaded in subdued colors: ochre, grey, pink, emerald green, olive, blue, and white, with the most vivid tones concentrated in the figure (third from the left) of the youthful saint who upholds the collapsing body of his neighbor. The flesh tones run the whole gamut from grey to pink, ochre, brown, and olive in most delicate shades, with white highlights emphasizing the plastic modelling. The color of the hair varies from white to grey and blue, from yellow to ochre and from brown to black. The inscription is traced in black, the diadems which descend on the Martyrs have red and blue stones in gold settings outlined in black, the heavenly arc in the middle of the upper margin is divided into blue, grey, and white concentric rings. The color effect of the whole panel is rather delicate and subdued, with golden-brown and silver-grey as the resulting general tones.

The provenience of the icon cannot be traced back very far: it is said to have entered the Segredakis collection from the possession of a Greek refugee from Asia Minor; from Segredakis it passed to Danos from whom it was acquired by Hayford Peirce (1931); after the latter's death it was given in his memory to the Dumbarton Oaks Collection in 1947.

The subject matter of the icon confirms our observations concerning the aulic character of the iconography of the entire species of miniature mosaic. The veneration of the Forty Martyrs, while popular and widespread enough, had its center at the court of Constantinople and among the upper ranks of the Byzantine army. The fact that legend made the martyrs of Sebaste (or Sebastia) soldiers of the Roman army, who suffered martyrdom for their faith under Maximianus or Licinius, caused them to be venerated as warrior saints. An ivory triptych, in Leningrad, accordingly presents them accompanied by the greatest military saints of Byzantium, SS. George, Demetrius, the two Theodores, and others³⁹ (fig. 13). Nine shrines of the Forty Martyrs are known to have existed in Constantinople and its environs alone, some of them intimately connected with the court.⁴⁰

The veneration of the steadfast soldiers and of their relics began in very early times, perhaps immediately after their martyrdom. Oddly enough, the martyrs themselves seem to have, quite consciously, provided a firm basis for the cult of their relics; at least they were credited with having done so at an

³⁹ A. Goldschmidt and K. Weitzmann, *Die byzantinischen Elfenbeinskulpturen des X.-XIII. Jahrhunderts*, II (Berlin, 1930/34), p. 27, pl. 3. Concerning warrior saints on ivory triptychs see E. Kantowicz "Ivories and Litanies," *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, V (1942), p. 56 ff.

⁴⁰ R. Janin, "Les églises byzantines des saints militaires," *Echos d'Orient*, XXXIV (1935), p. 64 ff.

early period. In their so-called "testament" (*diatheke*), a most curious and valuable document of the early Church which has been favorably evaluated by modern critics,⁴¹ they are said to have implored their relatives and fellow Christians to collect their remains after their death, and above all, not to separate them from each other, but to bury them together in a certain place, since they wished to remain together in death as they were in their last struggle, their *ἄγων*. This moving document purporting to have been penned by three of their number, is signed by all forty. Whether genuine or not, the *diatheke* is in any case a contemporary document and presents, if not the thoughts of the martyrs themselves, at least the ideas of their friends and fellow Christians. The main idea is that these forty persons of very different ages (a fact which speaks against their having been soldiers) who came from different parts of the Empire, had in their last hours found a new cumulative personality which they wanted to preserve in death and in after-life. In this they succeeded: they became and remained for all time, the Forty Martyrs, the *Hagioi Tessarakonta*. However, their wish, alleged or real, to remain together in the physical sense, was not granted: in a time of growing relic worship, this was hardly to be expected. From their first resting place, Sareim, a village near Sebaste, some of the relics were taken to Jerusalem, others to Constantinople, to Rome, and elsewhere; to-day, they are widely dispersed.⁴²

Not long after the martyrdom, some of the relics came into the possession of a Cappadocian lady, Emmeleia, who had a shrine built for them on her domain, near Caesarea. The dedication festival of this church was attended by two of her sons; the younger, Gregory, was not at first overly willing to be present and would have preferred to shirk the long walk to the church, but a dream he had during the night before the festival made him change his mind. He dreamed that he was threatened and all but beaten by a number of soldiers whom he finally recognized as the Forty Martyrs. His respect for these energetic saints, enforced in so drastic a manner, persisted throughout the life of Gregory, later surnamed "of Nyssa": he has left us three homilies in honor of the Forty, in one of which (the third) he describes his dream.⁴³ These homilies and the twentieth homily of Gregory's older brother Basil⁴⁴ seem to be the earliest extant sources of a legend which had grown within the two generations between the martyrdom of the Forty and the date of the sermons, the seventies of the fourth century. The central motif that underlies these sermons is the preservation of the number forty, that is, of the cumulative personality of the *Hagioi Tessarakonta*. St. Basil's homily is nothing more than an elaboration

⁴¹ G. N. Bonwetsch, "Das Testament der 40 Märtyrer," *Studien zur Geschichte der Theologie und Kirche*, I/1 (Leipzig, 1897), p. 71 ff. Cf. also the following note.

⁴² The legend in *AASS*, X Mart., p. 12 ff.; O. v. Gebhardt, *Acta martyrum selecta* (Berlin, 1902), p. 171 ff.; W. Weik, "Die syrische Legende der 40 Märtyrer von Sebaste," *BZ*, XXI (1912), p. 76 ff.; P. Franchi de Cavalieri, "Note Agiografiche," *Studi e Testi*, XX/3 (1909), p. 64 ff.; *idem*, "I Santi Quaranta Martiri di Sebastia," *Studi e Testi*, XLIX/7 (1928), p. 155 ff.; H. Delehay, *Les origines du culte des martyrs*, *Subsidia Hagiographica*, XX² (Brussels, 1933). — I should like to thank Prof. S. Der Nersessian for her advice on iconographic questions.

⁴³ Migne, *PG*, XLVI, cols. 749 ff., 757 ff., 773 ff. The first homily is but the beginning of the second. The dream is related in the third homily, *ibid.*, col. 785.

⁴⁴ Migne, *PG*, XXXI, col. 508 ff. St. Basil knew the *diatheke*.

of this motif; indeed, the whole legend is understandable only from this point of view.⁴⁵ The account begins with the *professio* of forty soldiers of the "Fulminata" legion which was stationed in Sebaste (Sebastia). They repeat their profession of faith at the tribunal of the Governor, are thrown into prison and condemned to die of cold, exposed on a frozen lake in or near the town. A well-heated bath is kept open on the shore to receive those who might recant. While they are slowly freezing to death, thirty-nine golden diadems are seen to descend on the "phalanx" of the Forty. The guardian of the bath house, as he is counting these crowns and wondering why there are only thirty-nine of them—one short of the number of confessors—sees one of the Forty break the ranks and run for the refuge, on entering which he is immediately dissolved into air. This so impresses the heathen guardian that he throws off his clothes and joins the martyrs on the ice in order to restore the original number of forty. The next day the limbs of those who were not yet dead are broken (the *crurifragium*) and the bodies loaded onto a cart and taken to be burnt. The youngest of the Forty, Melito,⁴⁶ who is still alive, is left behind by the executioners who take pity on him. But his mother, who had watched the martyrdom from nearby, not wishing to see him cheated of his martyr's crown, lifts him up in her arms and runs with him after the cart. So he too is burnt, and all the ashes are thrown into a river by order of the Governor who wants to make sure that no relics are left, but his plan is frustrated and the relics are miraculously recovered from the waters.

This is not the place to analyze the various versions and motifs of this legend. As we have already pointed out, it seems to be mainly concerned with the preservation of the full number of forty, which accounts for the story of the guardian and the stark episode of Melito's mother. The substitution of the faint-hearted martyr by the guardian was soon compared to the substitution of Judas by Matthias: this parallel is already drawn in St. Basil's sermon.

As a matter of fact, all the essential motifs are already present in the sermons of the Cappadocian Fathers; they are, indeed, mentioned there in such an allusive form that they must have been widely known in the second half of the fourth century. We do not know, however, at what period the legend was illustrated in a full cycle of pictures. The earliest examples of this type that have come down to us are contained in a group of Psalters with marginal illustrations, the oldest of which was written in the second half of the eleventh century. This does not, of course, exclude the possibility that the narrative cycle of the legend could have originated at a much earlier period. The chief manuscript of this group, the Psalter of the British Museum, Add. MS 19352, (figs. 4 a, b) may even give us a clue as to where to look for the origin of the

⁴⁵ The earliest sources after the *diatheke* and the homilies of St. Gregory and St. Basil are several hymns and a homily by Ephraem Syrus (C. Assemani, *S. Ephraem Syri opera omnia*, V [Rome, 1743], p. 341 ff.), a Latin sermon by Gaudentius of Brescia (*PL*, XX, col. 964 ff.), the Greek Acts (*AASS*, X. Mart., p. 12 ff.), a Synaxarion (H. Delehay, *Synaxarium Ecclesiae Constantinopolitanae* [Brussels, 1902], col. 521 ff.), and a hymn by Romanos (K. Krumbacher, "Miscellen zu Romanos," *Abhandl. der K. Bayr. Akad. der Wissenschaften*, I. Kl. XXIV/3 [Munich, 1907], p. 16 ff.).

⁴⁶ There is a discrepancy here between the legend and the *diatheke*, in which the name of the youngest member is Eunoicus.

cycle. The Psalter was illuminated in 1066 in the Studios Monastery, by a scribe named Theodore, a native of Caesarea where, it may be remembered, the mother of St. Basil and St. Gregory built a shrine for some of the relics of the Forty. If we also consider the fact that the miniatures of the Theodore Psalter are the most faithful illustrations we have of the narrative contained in St. Gregory's sermons, it is, perhaps, not too fanciful to suggest that the miniatures were inspired by an early narrative cycle that existed in the church of Caesarea. The transmission of this cycle from early prototypes down to the eleventh century may have been effected by means of illuminated manuscripts of the sermons of Basil or Gregory, or else through illustrated copies of Symeon Metaphrastes' Lives.⁴⁷

There is one more element which leads us back, by a different route, to the two Cappadocians. In the group of Psalters I have mentioned the scenes from the legend of the Forty serve to illustrate Psalm 66:12: "We went through fire and water but thou broughtest us into a wealthy place." This refers to the posthumous fate of the Forty, namely to the Governor's attempt to destroy their relics by fire and water rather than to their actual martyrdom. Now, this rather artificial connection is not a late invention, since it is already found in the twentieth homily of St. Basil who may very well have invented it.⁴⁸

In the London Psalter the cycle unfolds itself in the margins of two pages, 81 and 81^v, beginning with the tribunal and ending with the salvaging of the relics. It is closely followed by the Barberini Psalter⁴⁹ (fol. 103^v) and by the Russian Psalter of 1397 (fol. 86).⁵⁰ Since the burning of the bodies is not represented in these manuscripts, the cycle must be regarded as an abbreviated version of a fuller one, which must, therefore, have existed at an earlier date. An even more abridged redaction is contained in the Hamilton Psalter, of the thirteenth century, at Berlin,⁵¹ which has only two scenes, namely the group of the Martyrs on the lake and the collecting of the relics.

The narrative cycle which has found its finest literary expression in a hymn by Romanus,⁵² is not alone in pointing to Asia Minor as the place of origin of the iconography of the Forty Martyrs; another mode of representation, completely opposed to the scenic cycle, seems also to have been prevalent in that region, namely the representation of the Saints as forty half figures clad in patrician robes and enclosed in medallions. This manner of representing the Forty Martyrs by "pseudo-portraits" identified by the names given them in

⁴⁷ H. Delehaye, *Les légendes grecques des saints militaires* (Paris, 1909); *Bibliotheca Hagiographica Graeca* (2nd ed., Brussels, 1909), pp. 168f., 290.

⁴⁸ The motifs of fire and water and the reference to David (the Psalter) are also found in an Ekphrasis (Cod. Marc. gr. 524) of a representation of the Forty Martyrs that existed in the *propylaion* of one of their churches in Constantinople; cf. Νέος Ἑλληνομνήμων, VIII (1911), p. 126f.

⁴⁹ Vat. Barb. 372 (cf. A. De Wald, in *Hesperia*, XIII [1944], p. 76ff.).

⁵⁰ Leningrad, Public Libr., no. 1252, F^o VI (cf. *Istoriia Russkogo Iskusstva*, ed. Akad. Nauk SSSR., III [Moscow, 1955], p. 94, with bibliography).

⁵¹ Berlin, Kupferstich Kabinett, no. 78AG (Hamilton 119), fol. 130.

⁵² K. Krumbacher, "Miscellen." The hymn contains the motifs of fire, water, and the substitution of Judas by Matthias; the words of St. Basil are in some cases reproduced literally.

the *Diatheke* is found in five cave churches of Cappadocia, among them Toqale (the New Church) and Tschaouch In.⁵³ Some of these representations are as early as the tenth century. Cappadocia is not, however, the only region in which this mode of representing the Forty Martyrs occurs: other, though later, examples are found in Sicily (the mosaics of Monreale)⁵⁴ and in Russia.⁵⁵

A similar method of representing the Martyrs' portraits is shown in Syriac manuscripts of the thirteenth century, in which the medallions, arranged in a honeycomb pattern, fill two facing pages⁵⁶ (fig. 5). These rows of medallions are the exact pictorial counterpart of chanted litanies which must have been current from comparatively early times, though their earliest extant example is in a tenth-century manuscript (Paris, gr. 476).⁵⁷ The litany or hymn, as it is called in the introductory verse, seems to have been divided into two halves each containing the invocation of twenty saints, a bipartition that we shall meet again in another group of representations of the Forty. As regards the litany, only its first half appears to have been copied in the Paris manuscript. The names of the saints are those of the *Diatheke*, while the ideas expressed in each invocation have been developed from the names by association or alliteration. The resulting effect is just as monotonous as that of a row of medallions.

The main development of the iconographic theme of the Forty Martyrs is not, however, connected either with this "portrait" type or with the "cyclic" representation described above. What eventually became the "classic" mode of depicting the Forty Martyrs lies midway between the two poles, the static and the narrative. This "classic" type represents the martyrdom of the Forty in one image, supplemented by marginal scenes which allude to the most important motif of the legend, that of the substitution of the deserter by the proselyte.⁵⁸ The earliest example of this type that has come down to us is found in the apse of the Chapel of the Forty Martyrs at Sta Maria Antiqua in Rome, of the seventh or eighth century⁵⁹ (fig. 6). The attitudes of the Martyrs, with their hands raised in orant gestures, conforms more to the earliest versions of the *Acts*, in which the emphasis is laid on the triumph of the Saints who praise God during their "agon," than to the evocative sermons of the two Cappadocian Fathers in which the suffering and the painful death of the

⁵³ G. de Jerphanion, *Les églises rupestres de Cappadoce*, I (Paris, 1925), pp. 314, 316, 529; II, pp. 26, 158f., 167f., 276.

⁵⁴ O. Demus, *The Mosaics of Norman Sicily*, pp. 121, 200, 235.

⁵⁵ Kiev, St. Sophia: O. Powstenko, *op. cit.*, p. 112; Nereditsa: V. K. Myasoyedov and N. Sychev, *Freski Spasa-Nereditsy* (Leningrad, 1925), Index, p. 25.

⁵⁶ Vat. Cod. syr. 559 (G. de Jerphanion, *Les miniatures du manuscrit syriaque N. 559 de la Bibliothèque Vaticane* [Vatican City, 1940], p. 88, pls. XI, XII), and London, Add. MS 7170 (*ibid.*, p. 91, fig. 38).

⁵⁷ D. Amand, "Un court poème en l'honneur des Quarante Martyrs de Sébaste," *Scriptorium*, III (1949), p. 52ff.

⁵⁸ In accordance with the "complettierende Typus" of Wickhoff or the "simultaneous method" of Weitzmann: cf. K. Weitzmann, *Illustrations in Roll and Codex* (Princeton, 1947), p. 12ff.

⁵⁹ J. Wilpert, *Die römischen Mosaiken und Malereien der Bauten vom 4. bis 8. Jahrhundert*, II (Freiburg i. B., 1916), p. 722; IV, pl. 199. The date is controversial, as is also that of the fresco in the oratory of Sta Lucia, Syracuse: P. Orsi, *Sicilia bizantina*, I (Rome, 1942), p. 80ff., pl. v. The latter painting was brought to my attention by Dr. Hans Belting.

Martyrs are described in harrowing detail.⁶⁰ The figures are arranged in three rows, in a regular pattern; a blue zone at their feet represents the ice of the lake, while a celestial apparition at the top of the composition, with rays descending on the "phalanx," imparts a hieratic note to the group. On the right is the bath house, guarded by a seated figure with shield and lance; a man is seen entering the door (the defecting member of the group), while the converted guard joins the "phalanx" from the left.

The simplicity and relatively static character of this composition are in accord with its early date. The main group of figures is little more than a group portrait, as it was frequently represented in Roman art, from the "school group" of the Capua Museum to the sacrificial scenes of Dura-Europos.⁶¹ Sta Maria Antiqua, however, contains a second representation of the Forty which is even closer to its Roman prototypes, a "celestial group portrait" pure and simple, which shows the Martyrs in a well-ordered group, all with haloes and in patrician costumes, with Christ appearing above them in a medallion. This representation is on one of the side walls of the chapel,⁶² at right angles to the image of the "martyrdom" and, apparently, intended to be viewed together with the latter. We would probably be justified in interpreting it as a depiction of the Martyrs after their "agon," as saints in heaven, still forming their indivisible "phalanx."

There was yet a third image of the Forty Martyrs in Sta Maria Antiqua,⁶³ which seems to have been as unique as the one just described, but of which only a small fragment is preserved. The part that is still visible shows two figures clad in loin cloths and, above them, the remnants of a figure with a crenellated crown, doubtless a personification of the city of Sebaste, conceived in the Hellenistic manner. That the painter was a Greek seems certain because of the Greek subscription containing a prayer.

All three compositions of Sta Maria Antiqua, ancient as they are, may be derived from even earlier prototypes; but only one of the three iconographic schemes lived on to become a dominant type: the one represented in the apse, with the complementary side scenes. Of course, there were considerable compositional problems involved in this rendering of the scene in the shape of a horizontal rectangle: it was as difficult to arrange satisfactorily forty standing figures, as it was to find a suitable place for the episode of the deserter and the proselyte. In some cases the two scenes were simply omitted, as in a miniature of the Moscow Menologium⁶⁴ (fig. 7) which, though belonging to the late eleventh or early twelfth century, follows quite faithfully a late tenth-century

⁶⁰ A combination of the two interpretations is found in an inscription in the Cypriote church of Asinou, A.D. 1106: "It is flesh that here bears the winter's cold. Thou shalt hear the martyrs' sobs and groaning. They are steadfast as they suffer under the sharpness of the frost; at the clouds they look and not upon their pangs." (*Archaeologia*, LXXXIII [1933], p. 328f., pl. 98/1); similarly an epigram by Manuel Philes ed. E. Miller, I, p. 438.

⁶¹ The Capua mosaic was found in St. Angelo in Formis (ill. in *Caserta and its Province* [Caserta, n. d.], p. 17). Dura, Temple of Bel, Sacrifice of the Tribune Julius Terentius, ca. A.D. 239.

⁶² J. Wilpert, *op. cit.*, IV, pl. 200.

⁶³ *Ibid.*, II, p. 709; IV, pl. 177.

⁶⁴ D. K. Trenev, *Miniatures du ménologe grec du XI^e siècle no. 183, de la Bibliothèque Synodale de Moscou* (Moscow, 1911), pl. VIII/36.

prototype of the type of the Vatican Menologium. This simplified composition is also found in other manuscripts;⁶⁵ in one of these, the Menologium of St. Saba in Jerusalem,⁶⁶ the illuminator attempted to solve the compositional problem by building up a symmetrical, bipartite composition with two bending or, rather, collapsing figures on either side of the central group, and by enclosing the entire mass of figures in a lunette formed by the shape of the frozen lake.

This device was also used in monumental painting; we may even go so far as to say that it originated in wall painting or mosaic. In the considerably later (middle of the fourteenth century) wall painting of Lesnovo, Serbia,⁶⁷ (fig. 8) the scene is actually inscribed in a lunette and divided into two halves by a double window. Such a division of the scene into two halves apparently proved to be convenient: this is, perhaps, the reason for the wide dissemination, from Cappadocia to Serbia, of an arrangement whereby the Martyrs were disposed in two groups of twenty on either side of a barrel vault, with the bath house at one end, as in Žiča, Serbia⁶⁸ (figs. 9, a, b), or in the tympanum, as in the church of the Forty Martyrs near Souvech in Cappadocia⁶⁹ (fig. 10).

This type of representation, on either side of a barrel vault, does, indeed, seem to have been the standard one in wall painting from the eleventh to the first half of the fourteenth century.⁷⁰ At this date, however, it was challenged by an entirely different kind of image, shaped like an upright rectangle, in the format of an icon. Its appearance in wall painting after about 1325—a good dated example (*ca.* 1340) is found in Dečani, Serbia⁷¹ (fig. 11)—is part of a larger process that is characterized, among other things, by the intrusion of “iconic” forms into monumental painting. There can hardly be any doubt that the upright rectangular method of representing the Forty Martyrs was developed in icon painting and carving as early as the tenth, perhaps even the late ninth, century in Constantinople itself. The earliest examples that have come down to us are two tenth-century ivory reliefs in Berlin and Leningrad⁷² (figs. 12, 13). Of course, the problem of arranging forty standing figures in an upright rectangle is even more difficult than it is in a horizontal rectangle, unless the artist were to pack the frame with heads neatly arranged in rows. If, on the other hand, the figures were concentrated in the lower half of the rectangle, the upper half was in danger of being left empty or, at least, of being inadequately filled. To remedy this the scene of the bath house had to

⁶⁵ E. g. Messina, Cod. S. Salvatore no. 27 (cf. Ch. Diehl in *Mélanges d'archéologie et d'histoire de l'Ecole Française de Rome*, VIII [1888], p. 320), and Dionysiou, Cod. 50 (Sp. Lambros, *Catalogue*, I, p. 322).

⁶⁶ Jerusalem, Greek Patriarchate, no. 208, Menaion of St. Sabas (A. Baumstark in *Oriens Christianus*, Ser. III/I [1926], p. 70, pl. 11).

⁶⁷ N. Okunev, “Lesnovo,” *L'art byzantin chez les Slaves*, I (Paris, 1930), p. 249ff., pl. xxxviii.

⁶⁸ G. Millet and A. Frolow, *La peinture du moyen-âge en Yougoslavie*, I (Paris, 1954), pl. 60/2,3.

⁶⁹ G. de Jerphanion, *Les églises*, *op.cit.*, pl. 161/4. In Syracuse the Forty Martyrs are divided into four groups of ten each. See *supra*, note 59.

⁷⁰ Ohrid (north chapel), Studenica, Sopoćani, Gradac: cf. G. Millet and A. Frolow, *La peinture*, *op. cit.*, I, 37/4, 91/2; II, 28, 29; 62/4.

⁷¹ V. R. Petković and Dj. Bošković, *Manastir Dečani*, II (Belgrade, 1941), pl. cxxi/1.

⁷² Berlin (A. Goldschmidt and K. Weitzmann, *op. cit.*, II, p. 27, pl. 3, no. 10); Leningrad (*ibid.*, II, p. 3, no. 9).

be moved up and the remaining area filled with a heavenly apparition that took up more space than the Hand of God which appears, e.g., in the Moscow Menologium. To solve these problems the carvers of the two ivories (or their prototype) seem to have borrowed or to have been inspired by an existing compositional scheme that contained similar constituent parts, namely an agitated group of figures and a celestial apparition above—an arrangement that was commonly used for the Ascension of Christ. Very rarely in the course of the Byzantine period do we encounter the creation of an entirely new compositional pattern; usually a time-honored scheme which contained similar features was taken as a point of departure, and only gradually did the new scheme free itself from the parent form. The compositional scheme of the Ascension also left space for the insertion of the bath house between the “phalanx” of the Martyrs and the enthroned Pantokrator with adoring Angels. The guardian who joins the phalanx in the place of the deserter may be identified, in the Berlin ivory, with the figure in the right lower corner, an old man who is shedding his garments as he approaches the group.

Not only the general composition, but also the figural design of the Berlin ivory, including every attitude, every movement, and every facial type, is found again in a silverpoint drawing, parts of which are preserved in a Vatican manuscript, Cod. Barb. lat. 144⁷³ (fig. 14). The drawing must originally have formed an upright rectangle measuring *ca.* 58 by 44 cm.; of this only the lower half is preserved, showing the greater part of the “phalanx.” Unfortunately, however, a large area of this very delicate drawing was written over, in the fourteenth or fifteenth century, so that only the first five figures from the left are distinctly visible. While, as I have said, it tallies in every detail with the Berlin ivory, the drawing is more elaborate, especially as regards hair, beards, and drapery. Thus, it is hardly likely that it was copied from the Berlin or any other ivory; it seems rather to have been derived from a painted icon of about the same size as the drawing. There is, of course, no possibility of establishing the date of this presumed icon; the drawing itself, which may be considerably later than its prototype, seems to belong to the thirteenth century.

The monuments studied so far make it possible to reconstruct the missing parts of the Dumbarton Oaks icon (figs. 1–3). In the three rows which make up the phalanx, including the collapsing figure in the foreground, thirty-nine figures or heads can be discerned, which means that two are, at present, missing: the deserter and the proselyte. A trace of the first, a part of his loincloth, can be seen in the upper row near the right edge; he was, apparently, represented in the act of breaking away in order to enter the bath house which must have been immediately above, where there is now a large gap filled with gilt wax. There is also a remnant of the guardian: his arm and hand, lifted in

⁷³ W. F. Volbach, “Le miniature del Codice Vat. Pal. lat. 1071 ‘De Arte Venandi cum Avibus,’” Estr. dai *Rendiconti della Pont. Accad. Romana di Archeologia*, XV (1939), p. 28, figs. 23, 24 (cf. H. Swarzenski in *The Art Bulletin* [1942], p. 298); B. Degenhart, “Autonome Zeichnungen bei mittelalterlichen Künstlern,” *Münchener Jahrbuch der bildenden Kunst*, N. F., I (1950), p. 98, fig. 20. According to Degenhart there was an intermediary link between the original and the drawing; the latter was traced from the intermediary version.

prayer, can be seen at the left edge of the gap, above the last letter of the inscription. He must have been represented kneeling, with his back to the bath, looking up towards the celestial apparition. Thus, the entire scene of desertion and substitution was moved to the upper right side, as in the ivories; the inscription and the forty descending crowns were arranged asymmetrically, so as to leave sufficient space for the supplementary scene.

In the composition of the icon the effects of lateral compression can be felt quite clearly, and rather painfully. The artist seems to have followed a model of oblong format and, as is usual with compositional re-arrangements, to have started translating his model into an upright rectangle beginning from the left. The sequence of the figures in the left half is almost normal and organic, every figure being afforded sufficient space. From the middle axis on, however, the arrangement begins to be crowded, and at the right edge the rows of figures, especially the front row, are almost curved back with overcrowding. Furthermore, some of the busts in the second and third rows seem to have been conceived without regard to the remainder of their bodies. Thus, the entire composition is little more than an assemblage of heads, of character types, rather than a "phalanx" of figures. Only in the front row (and in a few half figures of the second row) has there been an attempt to go beyond this juxtaposition of stock portrait heads.

A very similar composition, with similar faults and virtues, came to light recently only to be lost again, in an annex to the Euphemia Martyrion in Constantinople; to all appearances it was a work of the fourteenth century.⁷⁴ The main difference seems to have consisted in the fact that the figures were more widely spaced and, consequently, their movements were more clearly differentiated.

On the whole, it appears that the artist's most difficult problem was not the general arrangement of the composition—a problem that he did his best to solve after the pattern of familiar iconographic schemes—but the differentiation of forty standing figures, and the convincing depiction of their suffering; for this is what the artist of the Dumbarton Oaks icon set out to do, just as if he had wished to illustrate one of the sermons of the Cappadocian Fathers. Every shade of psychological reaction is depicted here, from stoicism to despair; some of the bodies are rendered as if contracted by the cold; one of the Martyrs is breaking down; another, somewhat left of center, has collapsed and is held by one of his younger comrades. Nevertheless, considerable restraint is shown in portraying the suffering—more mental than physical—of the Martyrs of the Dumbarton Oaks icon, and this is especially evident when their attitudes are compared with those of the Berlin ivory. The mosaic offers a convincing and dignified representation of anguish, despair, and gloom, quite different from the grotesque contortions found in the Berlin ivory.

⁷⁴ A. M. Schneider, "Grabung im Bereich des Euphemia Martyrions zu Konstantinopel," *Archaeologischer Anzeiger* (1943), p. 280, fig. 16. Schneider's assertion that the fresco was almost monochrome should be taken *cum grano salis*. Prof. P. Underwood tells me that the painting was already badly weathered at the time of its discovery; it was certainly very much damaged and faded when I saw it in 1951.

Among the many renderings of this subject there are a few that are even more turbulent than the Berlin ivory; one of the most agitated compositions is that of the now destroyed wall painting of Vodoča in Macedonia, of the eleventh (?) century, only part of which is known through an unsatisfactory copy⁷⁵ (fig. 15). It has been claimed, on the one hand, that the agitated realism of movement, gestures, and grimaces, as exemplified by the Vodoča fresco, was inspired by Hellenistic models; on the other hand, it is held by a number of scholars that the spirit of this fresco is typically Macedonian and contrary to the classical spirit of Constantinople. There may be some truth in both of these points of view, insofar as, generally speaking, Macedonian and metropolitan artists, while using the same late antique models, gave them different interpretations. However, before we analyse the character of the antique prototypes used by the mosaicist of the Dumbarton Oaks panel, and the use which he made of these prototypes, we should take another factor into account. This, "the middle-Byzantine" factor, as we may call it, affects the attitudes and movements of the individual figures of the Dumbarton Oaks icon.⁷⁶ The closest parallels to these attitudes and to the general "mood" of the group of Saints can be found in representations which, at first, seem far removed from the iconographic context to which the Forty Martyrs belong. It is almost with a shock that one realizes that these parallels are found in the groups of damned and tormented souls which usually occur in representations of the Last Judgement. The mosaic of Torcello, though somewhat provincial (especially in the lower parts of the huge composition) and all but ruined by bad restoration,⁷⁷ (fig. 16) shows, for example, the man clutching his face with both hands who recurs in the Dumbarton Oaks mosaic as the third figure from the right in the middle row. Both mosaics also have in common the man with one hand raised to his head, the other to his breast—he is the second from the right in both instances. In another representation of the "worm that sleepeth not," in Dečani, Serbia (about 1340),⁷⁸ (fig. 17) the same gesture is found once more, as well as that of the man with the folded arms. The impressive representation of the Last Judgement in the Parecclesion of the Kariye Camii⁷⁹ (fig. 18) is steeped in the same atmosphere of gloom and despair that is so characteristic of the Dumbarton Oaks icon. The astonishing iconographic relationship between the two themes, the martyrdom of the Forty and the torment of damned souls in the Last Judgement is finally brought home by a most characteristic detail: the fresco of the Last Judgement in the Kariye (fig. 19) and that of

⁷⁵ K. Miyatev, "Les Quarante Martyrs, fragment de fresque de Vodoča, Macédoine," *L'art byzantin chez les Slaves*, I (1930), p. 102 ff., pl. x, 2; G. Millet and A. Frolov, *op. cit.*, I, pl. 14, 5.

⁷⁶ For a different interpretation suggesting a derivation from classical prototypes, see Prof. Weitzmann's paper in this volume of the *Dumbarton Oaks Papers*, p. 66.

⁷⁷ O. Demus, "Studies among the Torcello mosaics," *The Burlington Magazine*, LXXXII (1943), p. 136 ff.; LXXXIV (1944), p. 41 ff.; LXXXV (1944), p. 195 ff. The mosaic should be dated in the first half of the twelfth century.

⁷⁸ V. R. Petković and Dj. Bošković, *op. cit.*, pl. CCLXXX, 1.

⁷⁹ P. A. Underwood, "Third Preliminary Report on the Restoration of the Frescoes in the Kariye Camii at Istanbul by the Byzantine Institute, 1956," *Dumbarton Oaks Papers*, 12 (1958), p. 235 ff., figs. 20–22.

the Forty Martyrs in Žiča, Serbia (fig. 9b) have a very odd figure in common, that of a man seen from the rear with head thrown back.⁸⁰

The theme of the Last Judgement is not, however, the only one that shows close contacts with that of the Forty Martyrs: the figures of contrite monks, doing penance by exposing themselves to cold, who appear in the illustrations of the Penitential Canon affixed to John Climacus' Heavenly Ladder, as shown in the Vatican Manuscript, Cod. gr. 1754 (fol. 13^v), belong to the same category⁸¹ (fig. 20). The caption above the illustration reads: "These torture themselves in the cold, and shiver, stiffened with frost." The figures are depicted in the same poses as the Forty Martyrs or the damned souls: cold and despair furnish the common denominator. Byzantine art seized on such common denominators, in the representation of single figures as well as of complex scenes, and applied them in different contexts.

Within a given sphere—in this case, that of agony, anguish, and cold—figure types were almost interchangeable; they could be used equally for martyrs, damned souls or penitents. It was left to the individual artist to impart to each of these interchangeable figures a special character to fit the context. But the adherence to types of this generalized nature is one of the things that gave Byzantine art its grandiose homogeneity.

Of course, not all the attitudes and gestures of the Forty Martyrs in the Dumbarton Oaks icon were drawn from this sphere. Others are derived from New Testament iconography. For instance, some of the freezing figures, especially those hugging themselves with both arms, may have been taken from representations of the Baptism;⁸² another, most characteristic figure, which occurs in many pictures of the Forty Martyrs, can also be traced to a New Testament scene: the sagging body of the Martyr upheld by the youthful figure in the foreground is an adaptation of the dead body of Christ, held by the Virgin in the Descent from the Cross.⁸³ In the Dumbarton Oaks icon there is only one figure in this posture, whereas in the Jerusalem Menologium⁸⁴ there are two. The Berlin ivory and its relatives (figs. 12–14) contain a group of two figures, one resting its head on the breast of another, which recalls the Christ-St. John group of the Last Supper. Later representations of the Forty Martyrs abound with highly agitated and strangely contorted figures. One very characteristic, if somewhat extreme, example is the collapsing man seen from the rear with his head turned upside down, whom we have already met in Žiča⁸⁵ (fig. 9); others of a similar kind are seen, for instance, in a sixteenth-century

⁸⁰ *Ibid.*, fig. 21, and G. Millet and A. Frolov, *op. cit.*, I, pl. 60/2,3.

⁸¹ J. R. Martin, *The Illustration of the Heavenly Ladder of John Climacus* (Princeton, 1954), p. 138 ff., fig. 266. Further illustrations of the theme are enumerated *ibid.*, p. 139. Professor Martin considers it possible that the miniature painter was inspired by a representation of the Forty Martyrs; both types, however, are more likely to have been derived from representations of the Last Judgement.

⁸² E. g. Brussels, Coll. Stoclet, fourteenth-century icon (V. N. Lazarev, *Istoriya vizantiiskoi živopisi*, I [Moscow, 1947], pl. XLII); frescoes of Aquileia, crypt (*La Basilica di Aquileja* [Bologna, 1933], pl. LXXI).

⁸³ For example, Paris, Bibl. Nat. cod. gr. 543 (G. Millet, *Recherches sur l'iconographie de l'Évangile, aux XIV^e, XV^e et XVI^e siècles* [Paris, 1916], fig. 168).

⁸⁴ See *supra*, note 66.

⁸⁵ See *supra*, note 80.

icon of the Byzantine Museum of Athens⁸⁶ (fig. 21) in which three figures have already broken down and are sitting on the ground and others are collapsing, while the guard's extended arm is clasped by two of the martyrs as a sign of welcome. One could hardly imagine a stronger contrast than that between this lively work of popular art and the noble restraint of the Dumbarton Oaks mosaic.

Many of the facial types of the portable mosaic appear, like the postures of the figures, to have been borrowed from the realm of religious iconography. Some of the Martyrs' heads resemble the usual types of the evangelists. The features of St. Luke can be found at least three times with slight variations; some of the bald heads with long beards recall St. John, while those with long grey hair and beard are reminiscent of St. Matthew.⁸⁷ A number of figures can be compared to one or the other of the prophets, while others are modelled after representations of saints. An especially close affinity as regards facial types exists between the Dumbarton Oaks icon and the mosaics and frescoes of the Kariye Camii: the fifth head from the right in the bottom row is, for instance, very similar to the head of St. Elpidiphoros in the Constantinopolitan mosaics.⁸⁸ Others, like the youthful heads in the bottom row of the icon can be found once more in the frescoes of the Kariye Parecclesion, particularly in the hell-fire group of the Last Judgement⁸⁹ (fig. 18). In these frescoes we also find the same type of shaggy bearded head, e.g., the first on the right in the middle row.

Ultimately, however, many of the facial types found in our icon as well as in the mosaics and frescoes of the Kariye Camii can be traced not to models belonging to religious art, but to antique prototypes. The profile head in the top row of the icon, for instance, is reminiscent of that of Alexander in the famous Pompeian mosaic; a head similar to the fifth from the left in the top row and the fourth in the bottom row can be found in the Centaur mosaic from Hadrian's villa, now at Berlin;⁹⁰ the fourth from the left in the top row may be derived from a Hellenistic portrait like that of Dioscorides (= Krateuas) in the Vienna Herbal,⁹¹ and the youthful heads in the first row are also as Hellenistic as can be.

But not only were some of the facial types derived from antique models; several attitudes, too, are essentially Greek—the contraposto of the first figure on the left for instance. No less Hellenistic is the manner in which the flesh is modelled, partly by continuous shading, partly by glittering white highlights

⁸⁶ G. A. Sotiriou, 'Οδηγὸς τοῦ Βυζαντινοῦ Μουσείου Ἀθηνῶν, 2nd ed. (Athens, 1941), pl. 6.

⁸⁷ Luke: first and tenth figures, top row; fourth figure, middle row. John: third figure, middle row. Matthew: fifth figure, middle row; second figure, bottom row.

⁸⁸ Cf. Th. Schmit, "Kahrie Djami," *Izvestiya Russk. Arkh. Instituta v Konstantinopole*, XI (1906), pl. XIX, 66; other types *ibid.*, pl. XXII, 165; LXIV, 129; LXXXIV.

⁸⁹ P. A. Underwood, *Third Preliminary Report*, figs. 21, 22.

⁹⁰ G. E. Rizzo, *La pittura Ellenistico-Romana* (Milan, 1929), pl. CLXXXV.

⁹¹ Vienna, Nat. Libr., Cod. Med. graec. I, fol. 4: Dioscorides and Heuresis. illustrated in V. N. Lazarev, *Istoriia viz. živopisi*, II, pl. 16; P. Buberl, "Die byzantinischen Handschriften, II," *Beschreibendes Verzeichnis der illuminierten Handschriften in Österreich*, VIII (IV/1) (Leipzig, 1937), pl. III.

which illuminate the foreheads, the tips of the noses and the hair, and light up the eyes. Some of the white highlights have a somewhat impasto quality: the tiny white tesserae of which they consist project ever so slightly from the otherwise smooth surface of the mosaic.⁹² The modelling of the drapery is bolder than that of the bodies. Jagged patches of light and dark are interwoven so as to form a lively pattern. Here, too, the artist's familiarity with Hellenistic models of the illusionistic manner can be clearly felt.

The classicising nobility of the Dumbarton Oaks icon, the Hellenistic flavor of its facial types and modelling, as well as its subdued and somewhat monochrome coloring, enable us to classify this as a work of the so-called Palaeologan renaissance, produced in Constantinople. As to types and style, a close parallel is provided, as we have seen, by the mosaics and frescoes of the Kariye Camii which date in all probability from the second decade of the fourteenth century. Some slight differences of style, however, which can be detected by a detailed analysis, seem to suggest that the icon should be dated two or three decades earlier than the decoration of the Kariye. The feet, for instance, though already "broken" at the ankles, have not yet the characteristic "flat-iron" shape of the Kariye, the crania are not as bulbous, the hands not as prong-like. Neither the composition as a whole nor the design of the bodies exhibits the calligraphic linearism of the Kariye mosaics. In fact, the figures of the icon still betray the experimental character of the art of the thirteenth century and its classical trends. One feels that the painter of the icon—and the mosaicist was a painter *par excellence*—regarded his Hellenistic models as something only just discovered and therefore deeply exciting. In some cases he copied them so closely that certain heads of the icon, if considered in isolation, would seem to belong to the sixth century rather than to the late thirteenth. A case in point is the sixth head from the left in the front row, the uppermost in the group of four: the quick turning of the head and the flashing glance directed upward at an oblique angle recall the illusionistic manner of the Vienna Genesis rather than any mediaeval method of depicting the face of a saint. But, as has been pointed out above, there are other faces in the icon which do not correspond to any antique type and do not show an antique treatment; and it is this uneven character, this medley of the antique in its various forms, both classical and illusionist, and of the mediaeval, that distinguishes this work of an experimental, exploratory art from the perfectly balanced, homogeneous and assured art of the Kariye. Compared to the Kariye mosaics with their deeply saturated style, their insistent homophony of forms, their mannerist abbreviations, the Dumbarton Oaks icon has no "style" at all: it is a document of an artist's search rather than a product of skilled routine. Thus it is one of the small number of monuments which illuminate for us the highly complex process of the genesis of Palaeologan art.⁹³

⁹² A similar technique is found in the mosaics of the Kariye Camii.

⁹³ O. Demus, "Die Entstehung," *passim*.

THE ICON OF ST. JOHN CHRYSOSTOM⁹⁴

(Figures 22, 23)

The more recently acquired of the two Dumbarton Oaks icons represents a half figure of St. John Chrysostom in a frontal attitude. The wooden panel on which it is set measures 13 by 18 cm. When it was acquired, the icon was encased in a narrow metal frame which, though not recent, can hardly be regarded as the original one.⁹⁵ The mosaic surface is very well preserved except for some cracks and a very few missing tesserae, mostly in the golden ground. The interstices between the impasto highlights of the forehead are somewhat discolored; otherwise, the colors are as bright today as when the icon was made. The white *polystavrion* of the Saint is covered with red crosses, outlined in gold; the omophorion is also white, but shot with gold and decorated with large, dark blue crosses with gold contours. The sleeve of the undergarment is red and gold. The golden gospel book has a red edge and is set with red, blue, and green stones. The most outstanding feature of the icon is the large halo in low relief, with an all-over pattern of small crosses in red, blue, and green against a white and gold ground; it appears almost like a life belt or a cushion in which the head is embedded. The subdued, flat colors of the head stand in effective contrast to the gaily colored patterns of the nimbus and vestments. The hair and beard are dull brown with a little pink, olive, and black; grey, olive, light brown, pink, and white make up the flesh tones—the white tesserae projecting from the surface like highlights put on in impasto. The ground is gold, the highly decorative inscription spelling the name of the Saint is black; the inner border is of the same colors as the halo.

The pedigree of the icon is the best imaginable. When it first became known, it was in the monastery of Vatopedi on Mt. Athos. At the end of the last century it was presented by the monastery to Count Nelidov, then Russian ambassador at the Sublime Porte. With the Nelidov collection it came to Paris; Dumbarton Oaks acquired it in 1954.

The great preacher and patriarch, whose portrait is the subject of the icon, was certainly one of the most deeply venerated of the Fathers, although he was neither a miracle worker nor a martyr in the strict sense of the terms. He was, however, reckoned among the confessors, having died in exile in 407 in Colchis, where he was banished by the Empress Eudoxia and her party.⁹⁶ The

⁹⁴ *Handbook* (1955), no. 291, p. 147. Bibliography (with the exception of general handbooks), in chronological sequence: D. Ainalov, "Mozaičeskaia portativnaia ikona sv. Ioanna Zlatousta Vatoped. monastyria," *Vizantiiskii Vremennik*, VI (1899), p. 75 ff.; N. P. Kondakov, *Pamiatniki* (1902), p. 116 ff.; A. Muñoz, *L'art byzantin à l'exposition de Grottaferrata* (Rome, 1906), p. 170; J. Wuescher-Becchi, "Saggio d'iconografia di San Giovanni Crisostomo," *Χρυσσοστομικά, Studi e ricerche* (Rome, 1908), p. 1026; O. Wulff and M. Alpatov, *Denkmäler* (1925), pp. 61 f., 296; V. N. Lazarev, *Byzantine Icons* (1937), p. 250; S. Bettini, "Appunti" (1938), p. 17; V. N. Lazarev, *Istoriia* (1947), p. 360; W. Felicetti-Liebenfels, *Geschichte*, p. 65.

⁹⁵ Illustrated in the *Handbook of the Dumbarton Oaks Collection* (1955), p. 150.

⁹⁶ The chief authorities for the life of St. John Chrysostom, Palladius, Socrates (lib. VI), Sozomen (lib. VIII), Theodoret (lib. V), Isidore of Pelusium (Letters II, 42), are quoted by W. R. W. Stephens, *St. John Chrysostom. His Life and Times* (London, 1883); for his works and his veneration see Chr. Baur, *S. Jean Chrysostome et ses oeuvres dans l'histoire littéraire* (Louvain-Paris, 1907); H. Kellner, "Die Verehrung des hl. Johannes Chrysostomus im Morgen- und Abendland," *Χρυσσοστομικά*, p. 1007 ff.

Saint's claim to distinction is twofold: he was an intrepid fighter for the freedom and integrity of the Church, and he was a brilliant orator. It is the latter quality for which he is especially remembered; it has earned him the sobriquet of the Golden-Mouthed (used since the sixth century) and has provided some of the stock motifs of the many epigrams that have been composed to honor the Saint or to describe his images, especially in the middle and late Byzantine periods. One of these ever-recurring conceits which have served poets from classical times on, is the affected astonishment that the portrait of the great preacher was obstinately silent.⁹⁷ Another common motif was that St. John Chrysostom inherited the gift of words from St. Paul who had it from Christ.⁹⁸ The most elaborate form of this idea can be found in later Byzantine icons and wall paintings which show St. John writing at his desk with St. Paul standing at his side and prompting him; apostles, saints, and monks surround the group.⁹⁹ This iconographic type was subsequently enriched with additional motifs and developed into the *πηγή τῆς σοφίας*, the earliest extant example of which belongs to the late eleventh century.¹⁰⁰ In representations of this subject the scroll on which the Saint is writing becomes a flowing fountain of water from which monks and clerics are drinking.¹⁰¹ A most interesting variant of this allegorical theme is found in the painting at Lesnovo, Serbia (middle of the fourteenth century), where the persons who are drawing and drinking the life-giving water are explicitly described as painters in an inscription which reads: *Οἱ ζωγράφοι μιμού[ν]τε τὴν τεχνιτὴν φύσιν καὶ κεράννυντε* (sic).¹⁰² Thus, St. John Chrysostom had become the preceptor of painters.

This was not, however, his only function in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, a period when the combative patriarch and his writings gained especial importance. After the Latins had taken Constantinople in 1204, they not only transferred the greater part of his relics from the Church of the Holy Apostles to St. Peter's in Rome,¹⁰³ but also made Chrysostom the patron of the Latin Patriarchate of Constantinople, a choice which was suggested by the fact that Chrysostom himself as well as his followers had solicited the help of Rome, and appealed to the Pope's judgement in their struggle against Theophilus. It was this fact as much as Chrysostom's endeavors to preserve the

⁹⁷ Manuel Philes, ed. Miller, I, p. 58f. (no. CXXXV).

⁹⁸ Cf. the inscription on fol. 7 of Ms. gr. 224 of the Bibl. Nat., Paris (H. Omont, *Miniatures des plus anciens manuscrits grecs de la Bibliothèque Nationale* [Paris, 1929], pl. CI) and in Cod. Jerusalem, St. Saba 33 (XI saec.):

Χριστοῦ στόμα πέφυκε τὸ Παύλου στόμα
Στόμα δὲ Παύλου τὸ Χρυσόστομου στόμα.

See also A. Xyngopoulos, "Ἅγιος Ἰωάννης ὁ Χρυσόστομος 'Πηγή τῆς Σοφίας,'" *Ἐφημερίς Ἀρχαιολογική*, 1942/44 (1948), p. 1 ff.

⁹⁹ Xyngopoulos, *op. cit.*, figs. 1-6: icon in the Loverdos collection; Cod. Vat. gr. 766; Cod. Athen. gr. 7; fresco in Chilandari.

¹⁰⁰ Homilies of St. John Chrysostom, Milan, Ambros. A. 172: (Xyngopoulos, *op. cit.*, fig. 7); other examples *ibid.*

¹⁰¹ In later examples like the fresco in the Aphenidiko, Mistra, A.D. 1366 (Xyngopoulos, *op. cit.*, fig. 10), SS. Gregory and Basil are represented side by side with John Chrysostom, with fountains issuing from the writings of each.

¹⁰² S. Radojčić, "Die Entstehung der Malerei der paläologischen Renaissance," *Jahrbuch der Österr. Byzant. Gesellschaft*, VII (1958), p. 116.

¹⁰³ AASS, Jan. II, p. 760.

unity of the Church, that prompted the propagators of the ecclesiastic union with Rome in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries to turn to his writings. John Chrysostom was, therefore, often quoted by the unionist patriarch of Constantinople, John Beccus, in his work on Church Union, a book that helped to bring about an ephemeral union of the two Churches at the Council of Lyons in 1274. Beccus was deposed and imprisoned in 1282 by Andronicus II who renounced the short-lived union.¹⁰⁴ It would be tempting to try to connect the Dumbarton Oaks icon, which is most likely to have been commissioned by or for an important ecclesiastic, with John Beccus, but the style of the icon points to a considerably later date. However, Beccus was not the last to attempt a rapprochement of the two Churches. About two generations later, Demetrius Cydones pursued the same policy, a policy which led eventually to the Union of Rome in 1369.¹⁰⁵ As a matter of fact, a date towards the middle of the fourteenth century would approximately fit the style of the mosaic icon. In any case, the figure of St. John Chrysostom had gained an especial actuality at that time, so that his portrait must have held a deep, perhaps even a controversial meaning.

The use of the term "portrait" may appear questionable, but the representation of the Saint is so specific that it gives the impression of being actually a portrait. This impression is strengthened on comparing the Dumbarton Oaks icon with what contemporaries of John Chrysostom said about his character and his personal appearance. It is said of him that though dignified, his personal appearance was not imposing; that his stature was diminutive and his limbs so emaciated that he himself compared his body to that of a spider (*ἀραχνώδης*). His forehead is described as very lofty and deeply furrowed with wrinkles, expanding widely at the top, his head bald "like that of Elisha," his eyes deeply set but keen and piercing. His cheeks were pallid and withered and his chin pointed and covered with a short beard. Being dyspeptic, he was considered morose; in addition, he is said to have been choleric, irritable, impatient, and somewhat intolerant of other peoples' weaknesses, easily offended, suspicious, and violent in his anger. Taken all in all, there emerges from contemporary sources the picture of a very remarkable, but equally difficult man, a picture which accords so well with the Dumbarton Oaks icon that it is indeed tempting to see in the latter an actual portrait.

As there are many likenesses of John Chrysostom which present the same individual characteristics, it is quite reasonable to speculate on the chance of there having existed an authentic portrait of the Saint which might have been the ultimate source of all later representations; one might even suppose that such a portrait formed part of the series which is known to have existed in the Patriarchate of Constantinople. To this it might be objected that portraits of bishops and patriarchs who had been subjected to a *damnatio memoriae* were removed and destroyed, a fate which a portrait of Chrysostom could hardly have escaped, not to mention the wholesale destruction of saints' portraits—

¹⁰⁴ See A. A. Vasiliev, *History of the Byzantine Empire* (Madison, 1958), p. 694.

¹⁰⁵ *Ibid.* p. 694 ff.

and John was held a saint as early as 438—during the period of Iconoclasm.¹⁰⁶ Nevertheless, an authentic pictorial tradition may be thought to have lingered on, to blossom up again after the iconoclastic controversy had passed.

However, an examination of the earliest extant representations of the Saint yields results which, at first glance, cannot be easily reconciled with this assumption. For nothing could be further from a portrait in the specific sense of this term than the paintings that are, in all likelihood, the oldest representations of John Chrysostom to have come down to us, all of them in the church of Sta Maria Antiqua in Rome. The first of these¹⁰⁷ forms part of a group of four Church Fathers, standing to the right and left of the main apse; it is identified by the inscription ΙΩΑΝΝ, and can be dated, together with the other figures, in the period of Pope Martin I, that is, in the middle of the seventh century. Unfortunately, the face of the figure is seriously damaged: its lower part, including the beard, is missing, but there is enough left to show that the face did not agree either with the Dumbarton Oaks icon or with the early descriptions of the Saint's features.

The same is true of the second representation of St. John in Sta Maria Antiqua,¹⁰⁸ (fig. 24) one of a row of standing figures in the north aisle which can be dated in the third quarter of the eighth century: Chrysostom is here represented as a comparatively young man with an oval face fringed with a sparse beard, without the slightest trace of the ascetic features of our mosaic.

The two frescoes, it is true, are the work of provincial Greek painters; but these painters were firmly enough grounded in "official" iconography to represent other saints "correctly." Furthermore, these painters were not alone in thus delineating the features of St. John Chrysostom: a Vienna manuscript of the Saint's Homilies on the Gospel of St. Matthew, written and illuminated in Salzburg in the early ninth century, after an eastern model, shows the Saint in a similar guise, as a young man with little hair and less beard.¹⁰⁹ Curiously enough, these very words, νέος, σπανός, ὀλιγογένης, are used to describe St. John Chrysostom in the Painters' Guide of Mount Athos.¹¹⁰ As a matter of fact, John was only fifty-three years of age when he died, and he rose to eminence long before he was fifty.

From these early representations and from the description of the *Hermeneia* it might be deduced that there existed, in pre-iconoclastic times, a recognized iconographic type of St. John Chrysostom which had nothing to do with the

¹⁰⁶ On this entire question cf. A. Grabar, *L'iconoclasme byzantin, Dossier archéologique* (Paris, 1957), p. 213f.

¹⁰⁷ J. Wilpert, *Die römischen Mosaiken*, *op. cit.*, p. 662, pl. 142b; E. Kitzinger, *Römische Malerei vom Beginn des 7. bis zur Mitte des 8. Jahrhunderts* (Munich, 1934), pp. 8, 41.

¹⁰⁸ J. Wilpert, *op. cit.*, p. 708, pl. 192; E. Kitzinger, *op. cit.*, p. 33. The row of saints to which the figure of St. John Chrysostom belongs is dated in the period of Pope Paul I (757-67) or Hadrian I (772-95).

¹⁰⁹ Vienna Nat. Bibl., Cod. 1332, fol. 1v; H. J. Hermann, "Die frühmittelalterlichen Handschriften des Abendlandes," *Beschreibendes Verzeichnis der illuminierten Handschriften in Österreich*, VIII (Leipzig, 1923), p. 143; color reproduction in F. Unterkircher, *La miniatura Austriaca* (Milan-Florence, 1953), pl. 1.

¹¹⁰ Dionysius of Fourna, *The Painters' Guide* (Ἑρμηνεία τῶν ζωγράφων), ed. A. Papadopoulos-Kerameus (St. Petersburg, 1909), pp. 128, 154, 222, 267.

highly individualized character portrait that appeared at a later period, perhaps not too long after the *anastelosis* of icons. This latter type seems to have been developed by the beginning of the eleventh century at the latest. The Saint's face, as it is depicted in the mosaics of Kiev¹¹¹ (fig. 25) or the frescoes of Ohrid¹¹² (both of the second quarter of the century), is full of wrinkles and furrows, pointed and angular in its features, with sharply defined ascetic features—a type that could never be adequately described in the words used by the *Hermeneia*, but that comes close to the Dumbarton Oaks icon. True, the eyes are somewhat larger in the two eleventh-century portraits, and the forehead is a little less bulbous, but all the other features are already there: the emaciated cheeks outlined with a V-shaped design, the heavy dark circles under the eyes, the drooping moustache, the sparse, two-pronged beard, the characteristic distribution of the thin, brown hair, and the curiously pointed, triangular shape of the face.

Between these works, the two monumental representations on the one hand, and the small icon on the other, there is a difference in date that amounts to about three centuries, within which lies the entire development from the late Macedonian to the full Palaeologan style—yet, the basic concept of the portrait underwent little change. Of course, this iconographic formula was subjected to different interpretations in the various phases of its development. The forceful characterization of the Saint in the works of the eleventh century¹¹³ was replaced, a hundred years later,¹¹⁴ by an extremely delicate and psychologically refined representation, in which Chrysostom is shown, not as the fighting Patriarch, the pillar of orthodoxy, but as an ascetic introvert (fig. 26). His ascetism becomes, from that period on, one of the chief motifs of epigrammatic poetry. The Palaeologan poet Manuel Philes, for instance, has left us several epigrams on icons of the Saint. One of these expresses astonishment that the Saint's portrait could be so much alive in view of the fact that he had starved himself so rigorously in his real life that there was scarcely any life in him. In another, the painter is admired for having painted the shadow of a shadow; in yet another, for having succeeded in painting Chrysostom with material colours (*ὑλαις*) whereas there was little or no earthly matter in the Saint's body during his lifetime.¹¹⁵ The point in this and other epigrams is driven home mercilessly by the repetition of words like *ἄσαρκος* (fleshless), *ἀσιτία* (lack of food), *λεπτότης* (thinness), etc.

The question that now arises is whether the specific portrait-type of the Saint

¹¹¹ O. Powstenko, *op. cit.*, pl. 75.

¹¹² O. Bihalji-Merin, *Fresken und Ikonen, Mittelalterliche Kunst in Serbien und Makedonien* (Munich, 1958), pl. 8.

¹¹³ Here are a few portraits of Chrysostom, chosen at random from works of the eleventh century: Harbaville triptych; London, Victoria and Albert Museum, bronze triptych; St. Mark's, Pala d'oro; Oxford, Bodleian, Roe 6, fol. 1; Oxford, Merton 28, fol. 3; Sinai, Cod. 364, fol. 1; Paris, Bibl. Nat., gr. 224, fol. 7; Coislin 79, fol. 2v; Geneva, Bibl. MS 24.

¹¹⁴ Twelfth century: Palermo, Cappella Palatina; Cefalù; Monreale; Spas Nereditsa; Paris, Bibl. Nat., gr. 1208.

¹¹⁵ *Manuelis Philae carmina*, I, p. 33f. (nos. LXIX, LXX, LXXI, LXXII, LXXIII), p. 58f. (CXXXV), p. 319 (CCXXIX). The conceit of the shadow's shadow is, of course, derived from Plotinus; cf. A. Drews, *Plotin* (Jena, 1907), p. 41f.

was actually created in the post-iconoclastic period or whether it was a much older one that was rediscovered and re-elaborated after the iconoclastic embargo had been withdrawn. There is much to be said for the second alternative which has been championed by André Grabar who has come to the conclusion that the late portraits of St. John Chrysostom "gardent . . . les traces évidentes du chef-d'oeuvre disparu du V^e siècle auquel elles remontent toutes."¹¹⁶ To harmonize this view with the objections stated above, it must be assumed that the realistic portrait type which may have gone back to the time of Chrysostom himself, was temporarily superseded by a more generalized and abstract manner of representing the Saint's features. It has been shown by E. Kitzinger that there was indeed a strong abstract current in late sixth- and seventh-century art and that it is this style, and not that of contemporary Hellenism, that is to be "found most frequently associated with the portrayal of holy persons or Saints."¹¹⁷ To put it more concisely, the late sixth century was the time when a saint's image lost its portrait character in order to acquire that of an icon.¹¹⁸ It was the increased veneration accorded to images that led to this change¹¹⁹ which can be described as the almost exclusive use of "realistically non-descript" types and abstract forms in Byzantine icon painting of the century and a half that preceded the outbreak of iconoclasm. The victory of orthodoxy in the middle of the ninth century brought about, not so much a return to the abstract iconic images that were in use immediately before the controversy, as a re-establishment of the realistic types that had preceded them. This re-establishment, however, was only partial, and the process of re-creating and "mediaevalizing" each particular portrait-type did not take place independently for, as was almost the rule in the development of Byzantine iconography, the crystallization of one "type" was assisted and influenced by the development of related types.

Thus, an ascetic figure represented in the drum of the Palatine Chapel, of about the middle of the twelfth century¹²⁰ (fig. 27), shows exactly the same features as contemporary representations of St. John Chrysostom¹²¹—hollow cheeks, aquiline nose, bulbous forehead, short two-pronged beard, and sparse hair—the only difference being one of costume (figs. 26, 28). However, this mosaic of the Palatina does not represent John Chrysostom; it depicts the Prophet Jonah. One might, at first, be tempted to suggest that the mosaicist of Palermo, thinking perhaps of the intrinsic similarity between the two embittered censors of a great city's vanities, simply used the likeness of

¹¹⁶ A. Grabar, *Martyrium*, II (Paris, 1946), p. 25, note 2.

¹¹⁷ E. Kitzinger, "Art in the Period between Justinian and Iconoclasm," *Berichte zum XI. Internat. Byzant. Kongress* (Munich, 1958), IV/1, *passim*, esp. p. 45.

¹¹⁸ E. Kitzinger, "On some Icons of the Seventh Century," *Late Classical and Mediaeval Studies in Honor of A. M. Friend, Jr.* (Princeton, 1955), p. 132 ff., esp. p. 145.

¹¹⁹ E. Kitzinger, "The Cult of Images in the Age before Iconoclasm," *Dumbarton Oaks Papers*, 8 (1954), p. 85 ff.

¹²⁰ O. Demus, *The Mosaics of Norman Sicily*, pp. 39, 64, pl. 12. I am indebted to the Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection for permission to reproduce this photograph as well as that for figure 29 (St. Luke).

¹²¹ Cf., for example, the portrait of the Saint likewise in the Palatina (O. Demus, *op. cit.*, pl. 23 B) or, better, a three-quarter profile representation like that of the Paris Coislin 79 (fig. 28).

Chrysostom to depict Jonah or vice versa. However, the case is more complicated, because the same features are found in the usual type of one of the saints most frequently portrayed, the Evangelist St. Luke. This type¹²² (fig. 29) is distinguished from the portrait of John Chrysostom only by the different hairdress: St. Luke is represented with ample curls, arranged in two tiers, a "coiffure" which covers a large part of the forehead and thus changes the entire aspect of a face that is otherwise almost identical with that of Jonah in the Palatine Chapel and with the most common type of St. John Chrysostom. If it could be proved that this bearded type of St. Luke were considerably older than the post-iconoclastic "portrait" of John Chrysostom, one might be able to assume that the latter followed the model of the dominant, because more frequently represented, type of the Evangelist.¹²³ However, the origins of this latter can be traced back hardly further than the second quarter of the ninth century;¹²⁴ the fully developed type is found only in the eleventh century.¹²⁵ Thus, the crystallization of the portrait type of St. Luke happened at the same time as that of the Chrysostom portrait; the two developments were parallel and, it seems, interrelated. There is even a strong probability that the portrait of John Chrysostom was originally "in the lead" since it may actually have been derived from a genuine portrait tradition, while the representation of St. Luke had no such roots. The more specific and better founded "author's portrait" might, therefore, have become, to a certain extent, the model of the "holier" Evangelist's portrait. The fact, on the other hand, that the representation of the latter was much more widely disseminated than that of the former, may have speeded up the development of a highly differentiated, "ascetic" type which, in its turn, may again have influenced the evolution of the "character-portrait" of John Chrysostom.

The two processes seem to have been practically completed by the beginning of the eleventh century and seem to have been more or less universal; more or less, but not completely so. For, among the representations of both saints there can be found an exceptional type which does not conform to those I have described. In the case of the Evangelist, it is the image of a beardless youth with short, dark hair, low forehead, straight, thick nose, and strong chin, a "Hellenistic" type which is found in its purest form in the Gospelbook no. 43 of Stavronikita,¹²⁶ and which survives into the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries in illuminated books inspired by tenth-century prototypes.¹²⁷ If this survival of a Hellenistic type is hardly more than an interesting sideline of the main iconographic development of St. Luke, the matter stands differently as

¹²² A. M. Friend, Jr., "The Portraits of the Evangelists in Greek and Latin Manuscripts," I, *Art Studies* (1927), p. 115 ff.

¹²³ This was the opinion—wrong, as I now believe—which I expressed in my Symposium lecture at Dumbarton Oaks in 1958.

¹²⁴ Rome, Vat. gr. 699, Cosmas Indicopleustes (A. M. Friend, Jr., *op. cit.*, fig. 72); Paris, Bibl. Nat. gr. 70, Gospels, (*ibid.*, fig. 3.)

¹²⁵ Cf. Nicaea, Koimesis church, mosaic (*ibid.*, fig. 123); further examples (very numerous), e.g. *ibid.*, figs. 127, 130, 134, 146.

¹²⁶ A. M. Friend, Jr., *op. cit.*, fig. 97.

¹²⁷ E.g. Paris gr. 54 (ill. in V. N. Lazarev, *Istoriia*, *op. cit.*, II, pl. 252); on the use of this type by Cimabue, see O. Demus, "Die Entstehung," *op. cit.*, p. 40, fig. 32.

regards St. John Chrysostom, since there are several representations of the Saint which are quite different from the common type, and which must be accorded a certain importance because of their high artistic merit and their central position, being, as they are, works produced in the capital. As a matter of fact, the earliest representation of St. John Chrysostom that has been preserved in Constantinople shows this different, "secondary" type. It is the impressive mosaic portrait of the Saint in Hagia Sophia, in the series of saints and Church Fathers on the north tympanum¹²⁸ (fig. 30). The Patriarch is represented full length, clad in the ample garments of his high office. The elongated oval of his face is surrounded with a short beard and dark hair; he is not bald, his features are neither pointed nor emaciated, he has a strong chin and nose; in short, there is hardly any resemblance between this and the familiar ascetic type. Since the grandiose mosaic of Hagia Sophia was probably made in the late ninth century and is, therefore, earlier than the oldest examples of the ascetic portrait, it might be thought to antedate the formation of the latter type, in which case it could be discounted for the purposes of this enquiry. However, the Hagia Sophia image is not isolated. A related figure appears on the lid of the reliquary of the True Cross in the treasure of the Sancta Sanctorum in Rome, a Constantinopolitan work of the tenth century¹²⁹ (fig. 31). The head and the body are more elongated, so that the Saint appears almost like a giant, but the features are so similar to those of the Hagia Sophia mosaic that the two portraits must be assumed to belong to a common tradition. And, should the Roman icon also be thought too early, there is another Constantinopolitan representation of the same type which belongs to a much later period: the recently uncovered fresco of St. John Chrysostom in the apse of the Par-ecclasion of the Kariye Camii¹³⁰ (fig. 32). But for the difference of garments, the figure is very similar to that of the Sancta Sanctorum reliquary and the face is essentially the same, except that it is rendered in a different style.

Thus, the abstract iconic type as it is preserved in the early frescoes of Sta Maria Antiqua, and the realistic, ascetic portrait type which was the standard one from the eleventh century onwards were not the only iconographic possibilities of rendering the features of St. John Chrysostom; there was yet a third type which depicted the Patriarch in an "idealized" manner, equally far removed from the abstract as from the realistic modes. It does not depict the saint, as did the iconic type, nor does it portray the ascetic, as did the realistic type: instead, it characterizes the patriarch and the scholar. It might fittingly be called the humanistic type. There is nothing surprising in the fact that the humanistic portrait of the Patriarch should have survived in Constantinople, since it is very likely that this type was created in the

¹²⁸ Color illustration in A. Grabar, *La peinture byzantine*, p. 96.

¹²⁹ Ph. Lauer, "Le Trésor du Sancta Sanctorum," *Monuments et Mémoires de la Fondation Piot*, XV (1906), p. 92, pl. xivb.

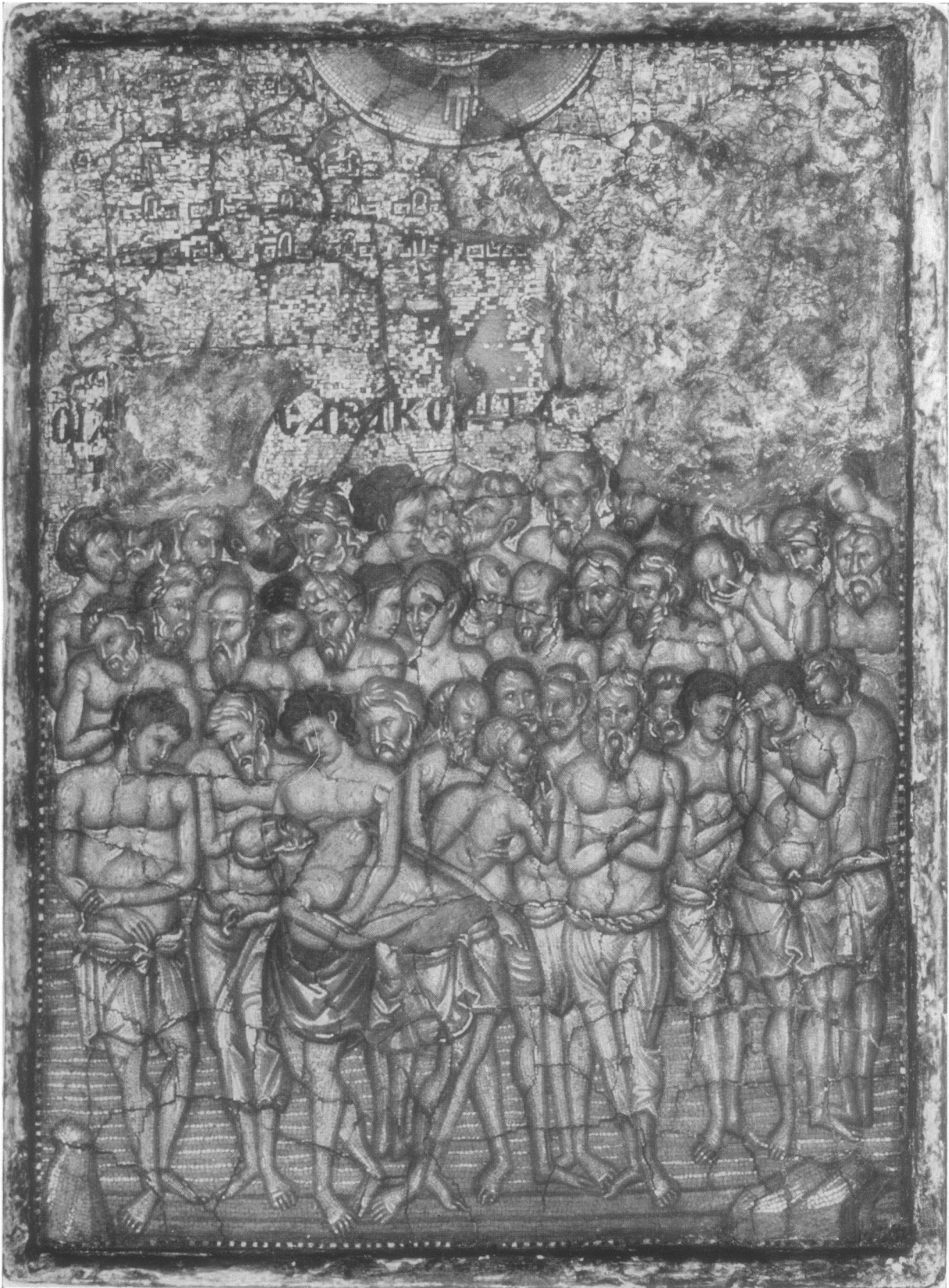
¹³⁰ P. A. Underwood, "Second preliminary Report on the Restoration of the Frescoes in the Kariye Camii at Istanbul by the Byzantine Institute, 1955," *Dumbarton Oaks Papers*, 11 (1957), p. 212ff., fig. 47.

capital. There exist, it is true, Constantinopolitan examples of the other types; but the opposite, the existence of the humanistic type in the provinces, would be difficult to prove.

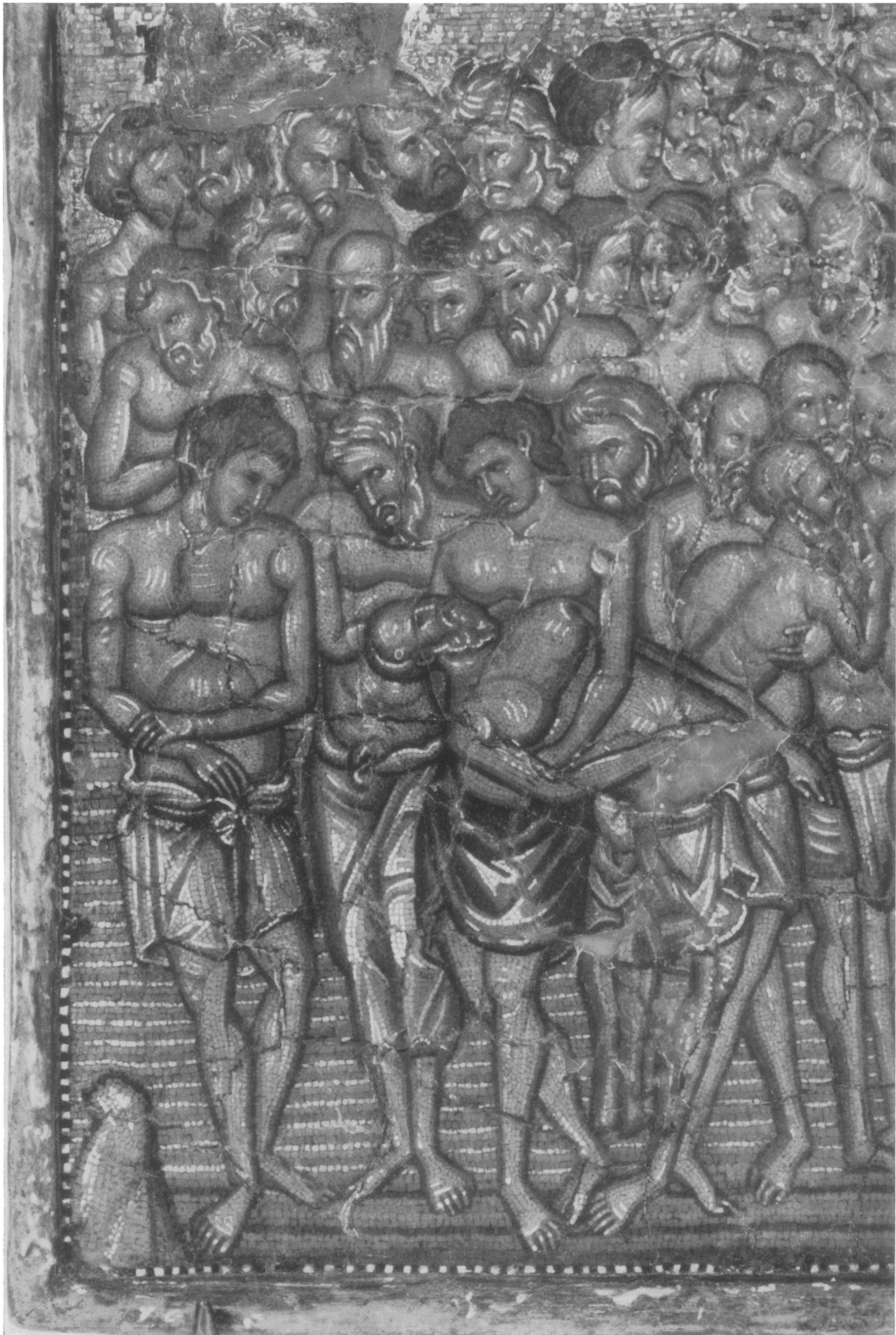
The three types did not therefore, exist on equal terms, either locally or chronologically. The iconic type, having perhaps replaced a lost fifth-century portrait, held its sway in the time between Justinian and the iconoclastic controversy, while the ascetic type seems to have dominated later Macedonian and Comnenian art. As to the third type, it may be of some significance that the specimens I have adduced belong to the ninth, tenth, and fourteenth centuries, the Macedonian and Palaeologan Renaissances respectively. It was in these Renaissance periods, in the capital itself, that the humanistic type came to the fore.

The Dumbarton Oaks portrait—to return to our point of departure—although generally conforming to the ascetic type, also contains some features of the humanistic portrait; to mention only one, it shows a somewhat fuller growth of hair and beard. Moreover, the features are rendered not by a system of lines but by a modelling technique that is specifically painterly, a technique that is more akin to the humanistic than it is to the ascetic type. Soft gradations, transparent shadows, and impasto highlights combine to produce an effect of brush work, as in water-color or fresco painting. This technique does not employ any of the optical or calligraphic abbreviations that are so characteristic of the mosaics of the Kariye Camii and, *mutatis mutandis*, of the frescoes in the Parecclesion of the same church. However, very close parallels to the soft, detailed “wash” technique of the miniature mosaic can be found in another part of the Kariye, namely in the decoration of an arcosolium tomb in the fifth bay of the outer narthex.¹³¹ In particular, the bust of St. John Damascene invites comparison as regards the modelling of the face. Although the tomb is not dated exactly, it is likely that its paintings belong to the second quarter or the middle of the fourteenth century, a date which also appears to be appropriate for the Dumbarton Oaks icon. Thus this icon seems to belong to a period considerably later—by at least one, possibly two generations—than that of the icon of the Forty Martyrs. If the latter exemplifies the art of the early Palaeologan era with its experimental character, then the portrait of St. John Chrysostom is typical of the completely developed style with its absolute sureness of touch, a style which already shows the first, faint signs of becoming dry, even tired. True, the difference in subject matter may be held partly to account for the difference in “key.” The icon intended to evoke the somewhat arid personality of the great churchman and ascetic, is executed in a severe, abstract key. It was not only the formal tendency prevalent in his time but also the requirements of his subject that led the mosaicist towards the realm of iconic geometry, expressed in the upright rectangle of the book, the regular pattern of the *polystavrion*, the plastic halo decorated with a geometric all-over pattern of tiny crosses—an element of the frame invading

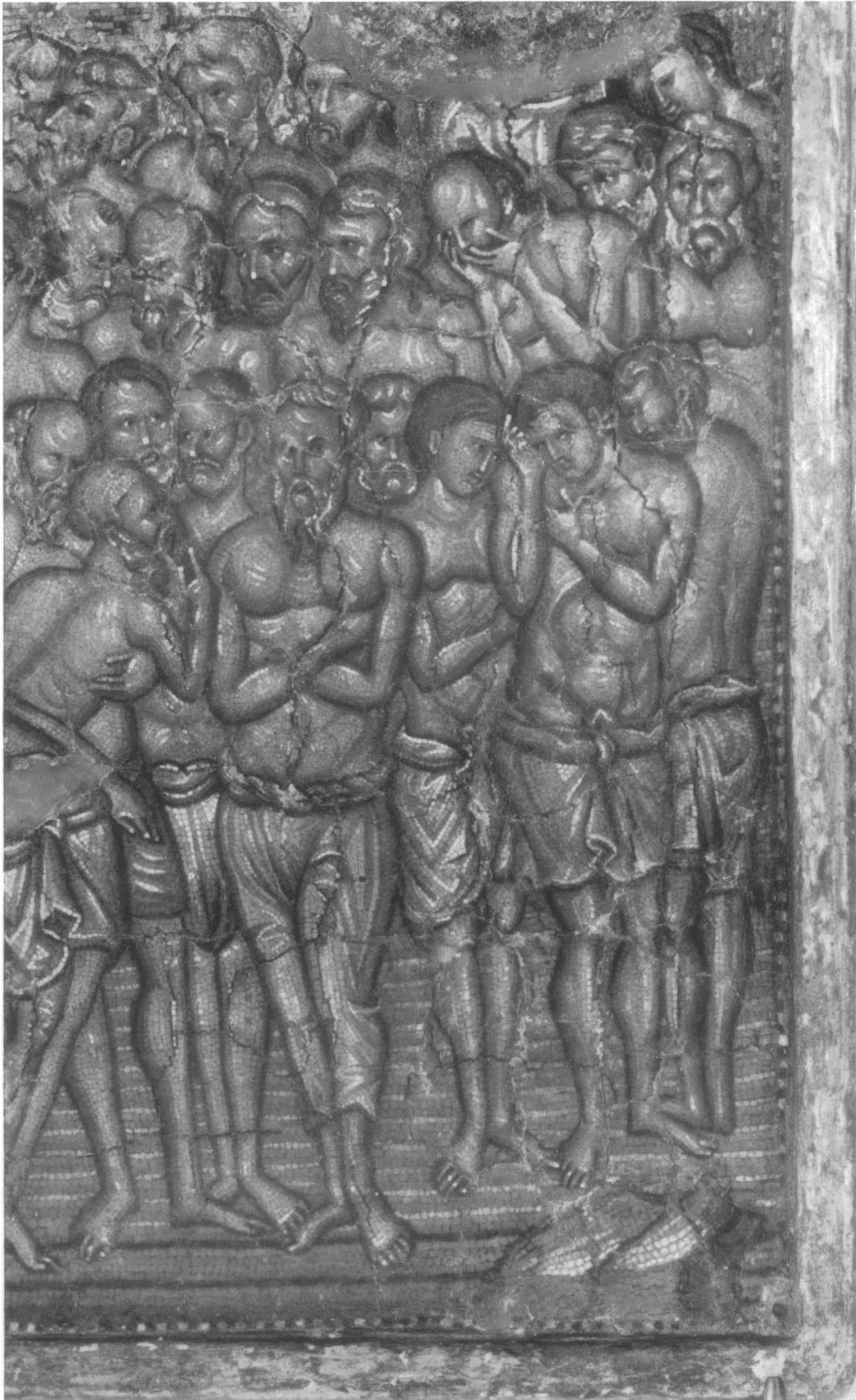
¹³¹ P. A. Underwood, “Notes on the Work of the Byzantine Institute in Istanbul, 1955–1956,” *Dumbarton Oaks Papers*, 12 (1958), p. 269ff., esp. 279f., figs. 11–13.



1. Dumbarton Oaks Collection. Mosaic Icon, The Forty Martyrs



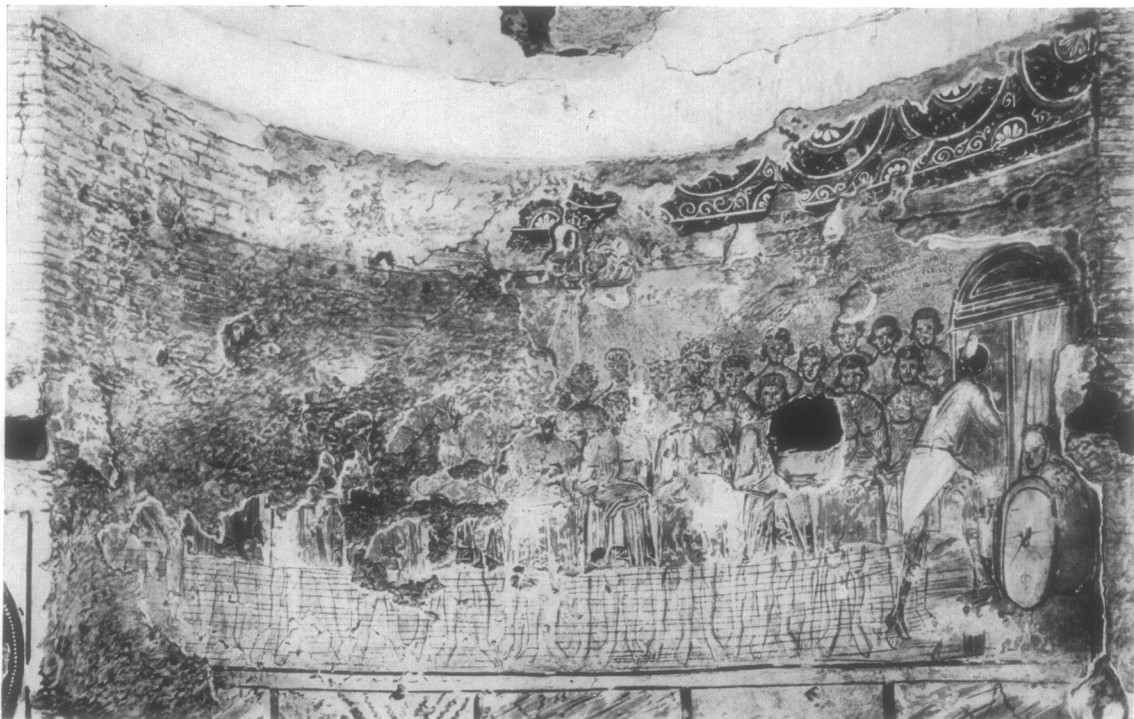
2. Dumbarton Oaks Collection. Mosaic Icon, The Forty Martyrs, detail



3. Dumbarton Oaks Collection. Mosaic Icon, The Forty Martyrs, detail



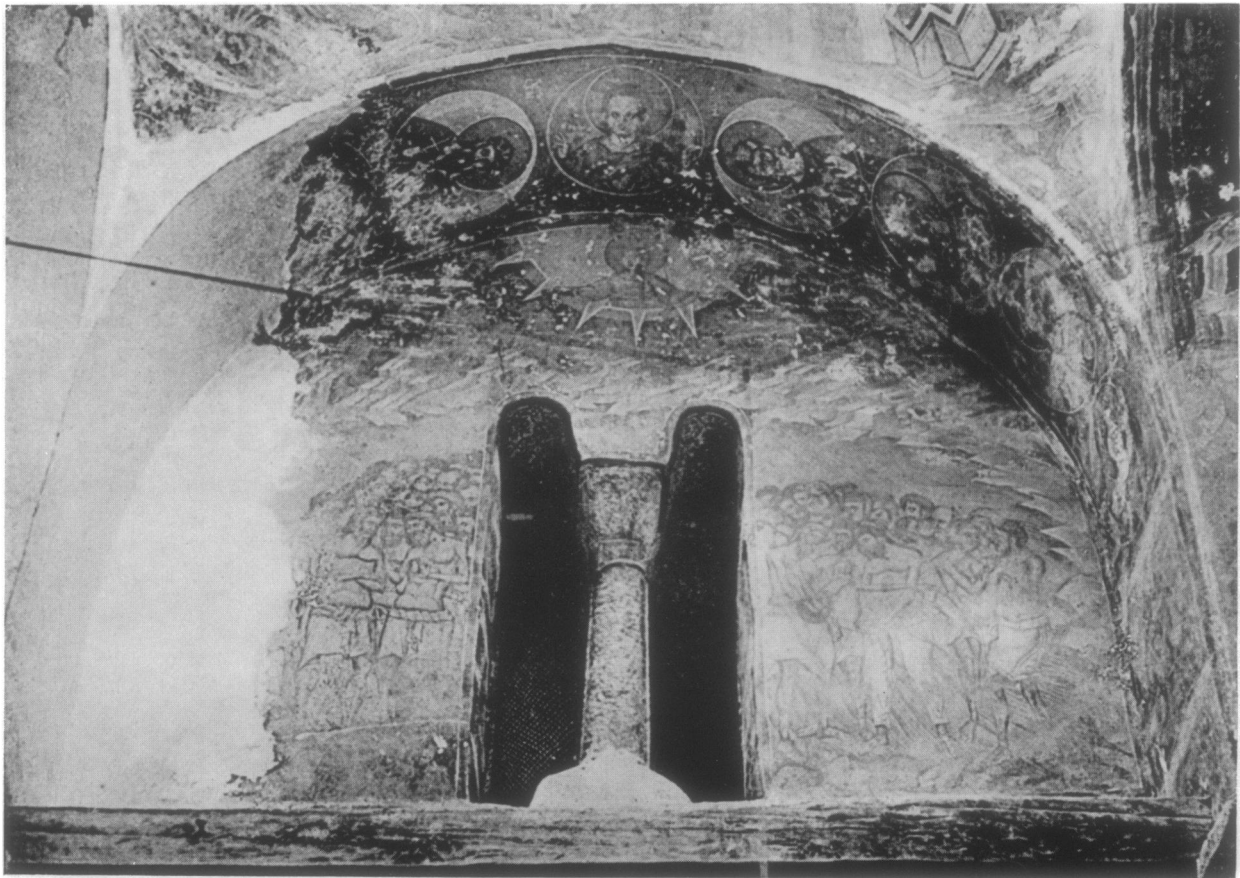
5. Vatican, Cod. syr. 559, Part 1, fol. 98^v



6. Rome, Sta Maria Antiqua, Chapel, Apse. Wall Painting



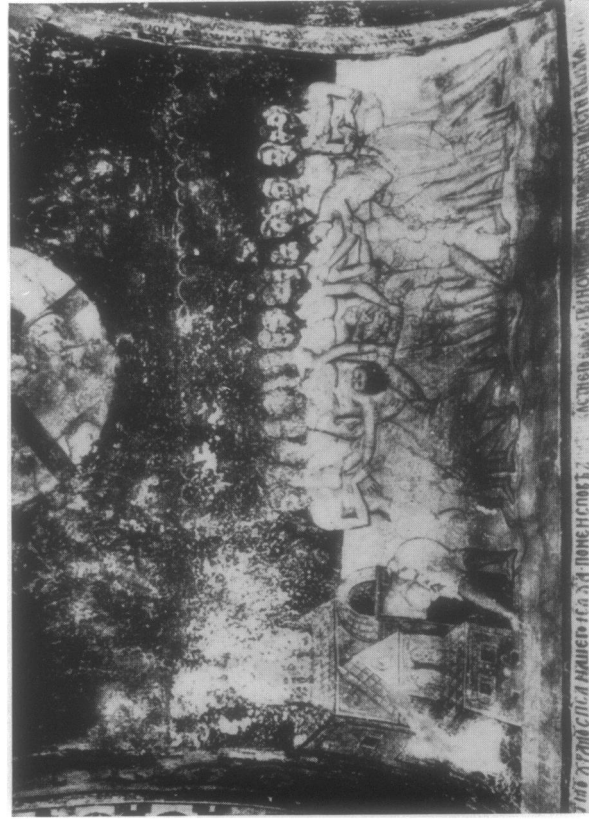
7. Moscow, Synodal Library. Menologium no. 183



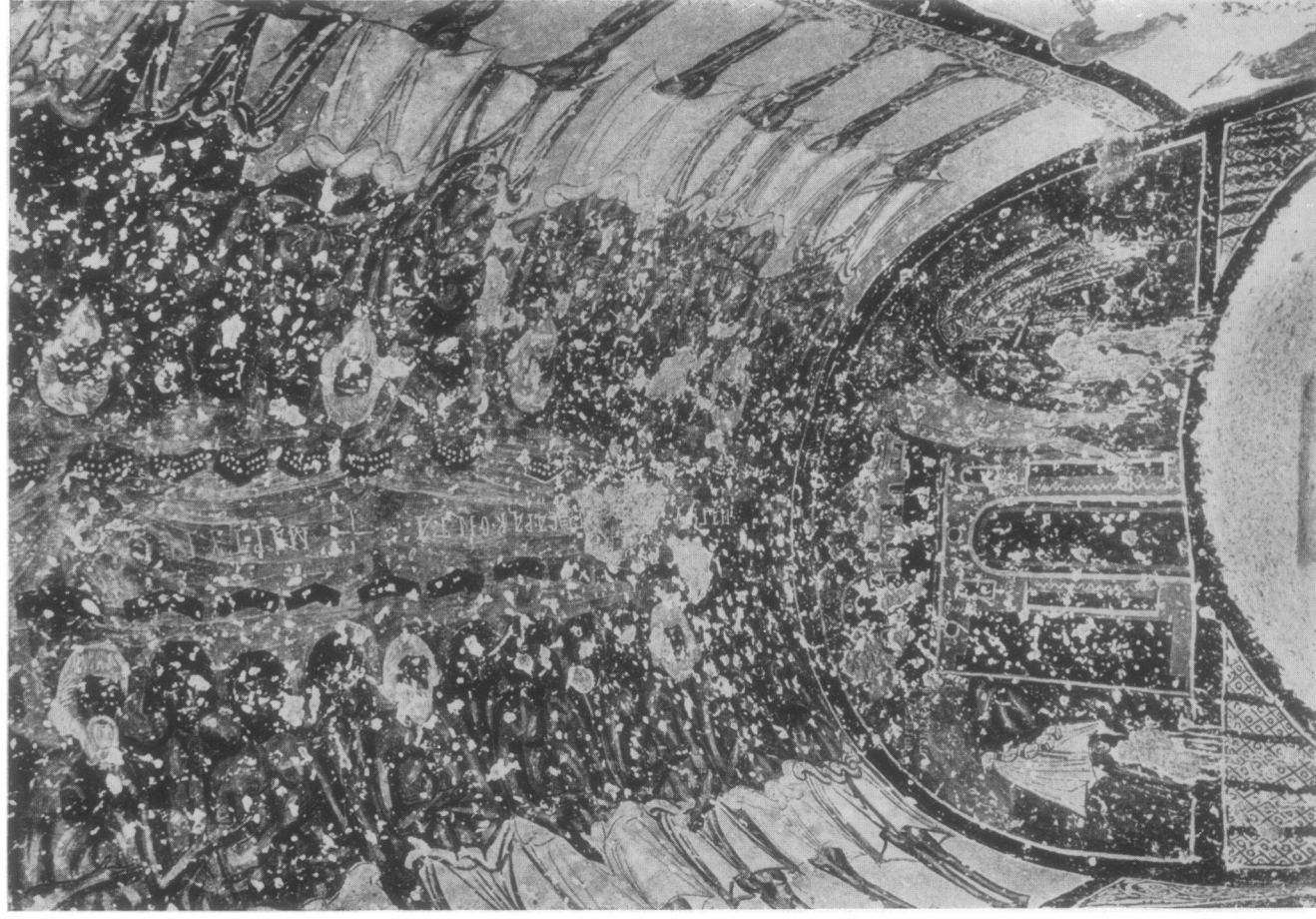
8. Lesnovo. Wall Painting



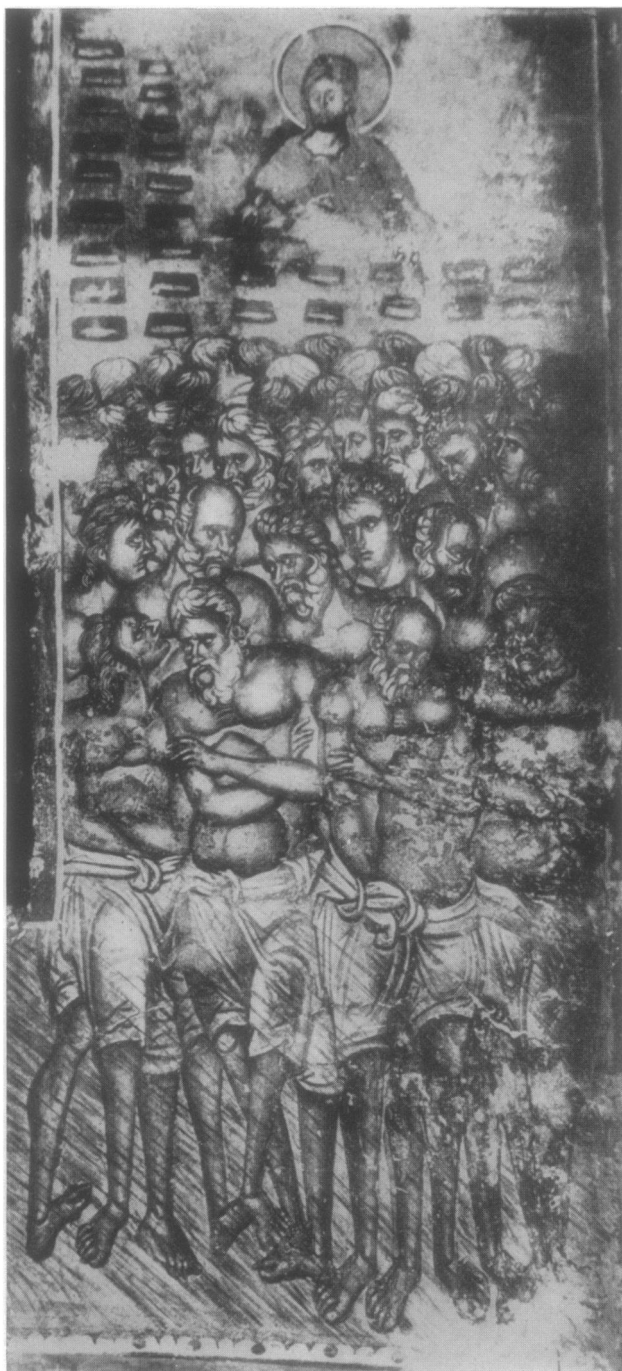
9a. Žiža, Vault, south Side. Wall Painting



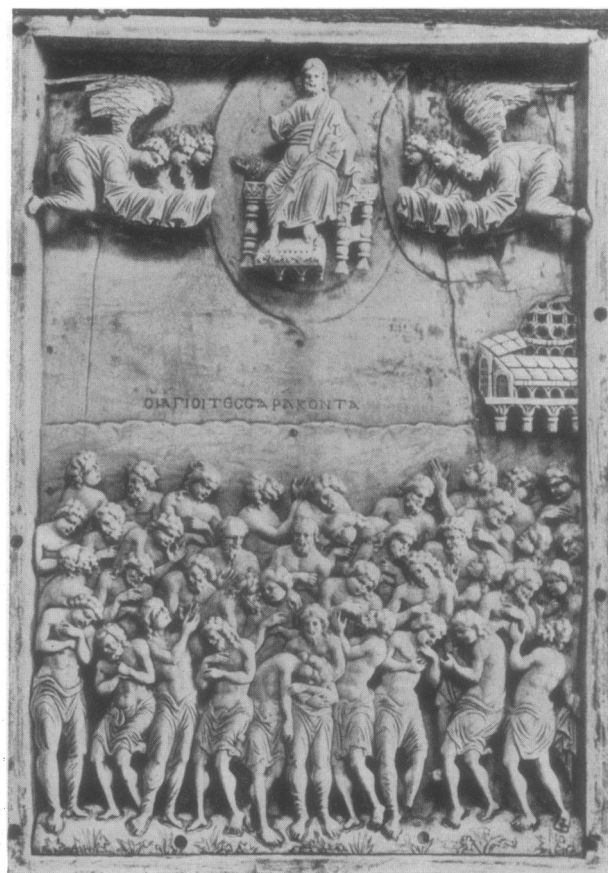
9b. Žiža, Vault, north Side. Wall Painting



10. Souvech, Church of the Forty Martyrs, left Aisle, Vault. Wall Painting



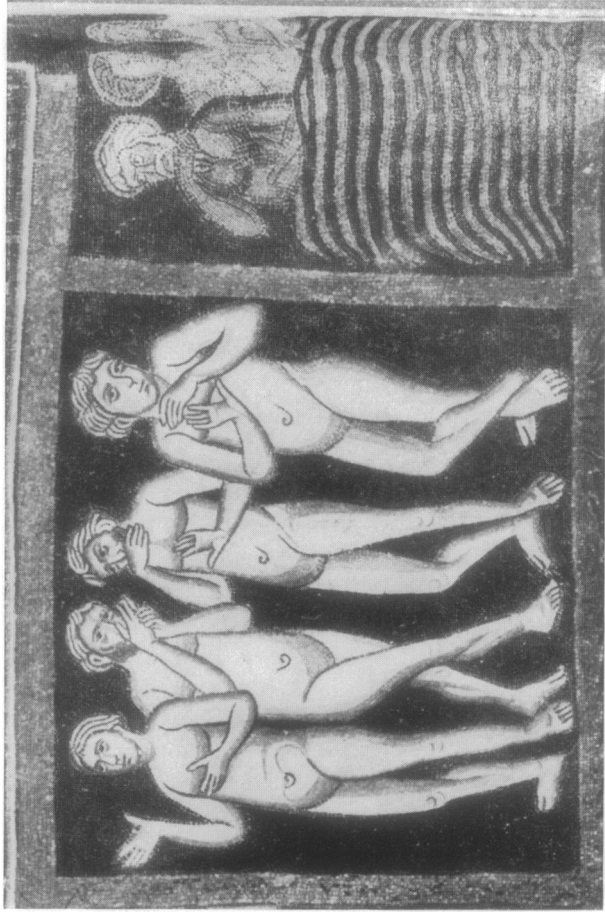
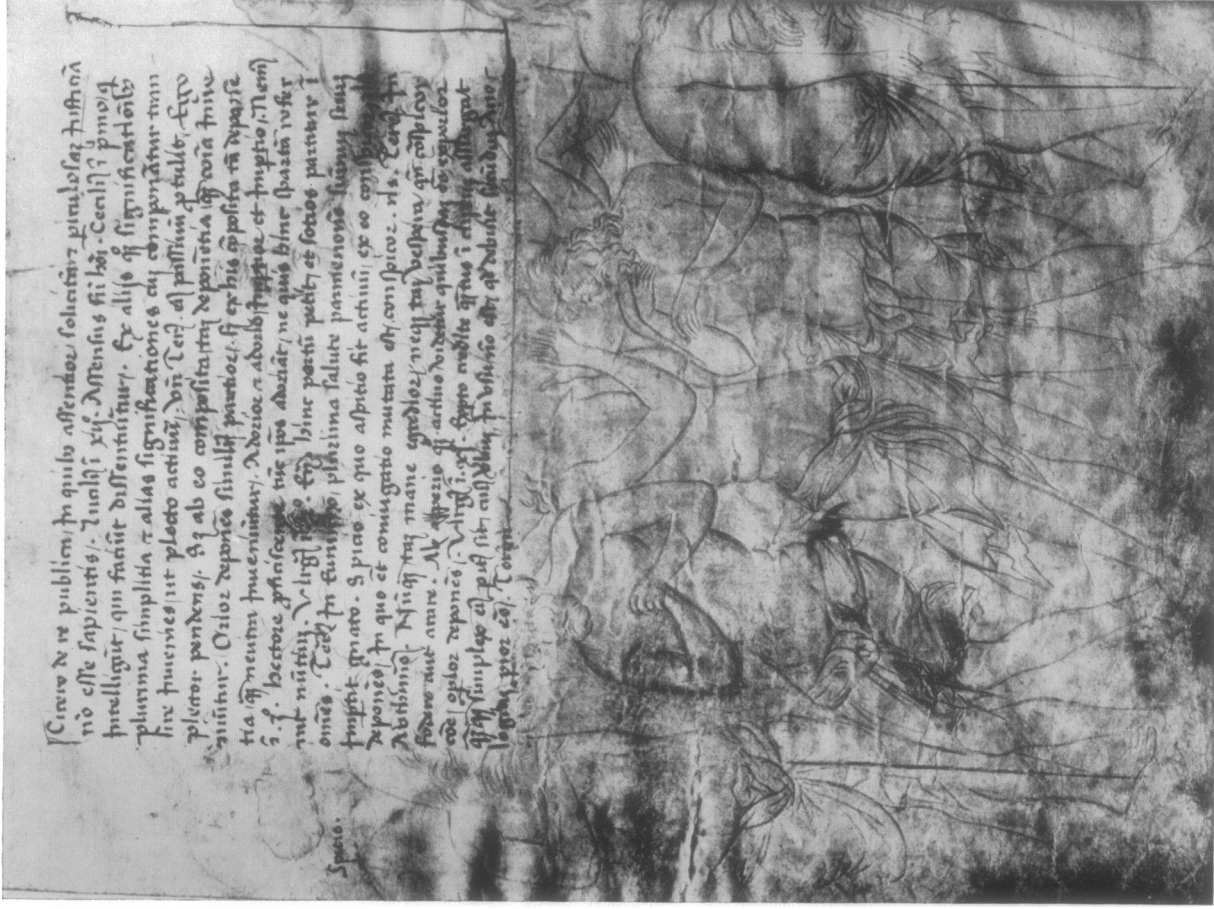
11. Dečani. Wall Painting

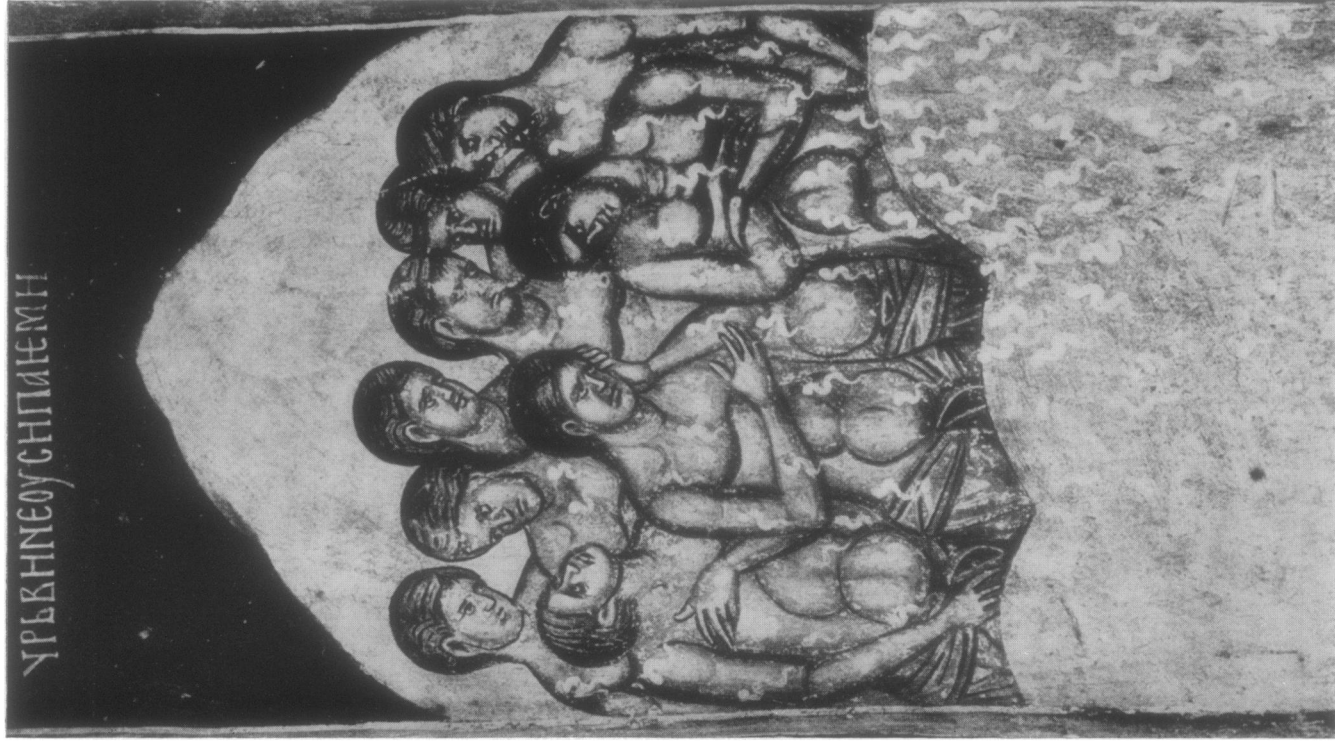


12. Berlin-Dahlem, Ehem. Staatliche Museen. Ivory



13. Leningrad, Hermitage. Ivory Triptych,
center Panel





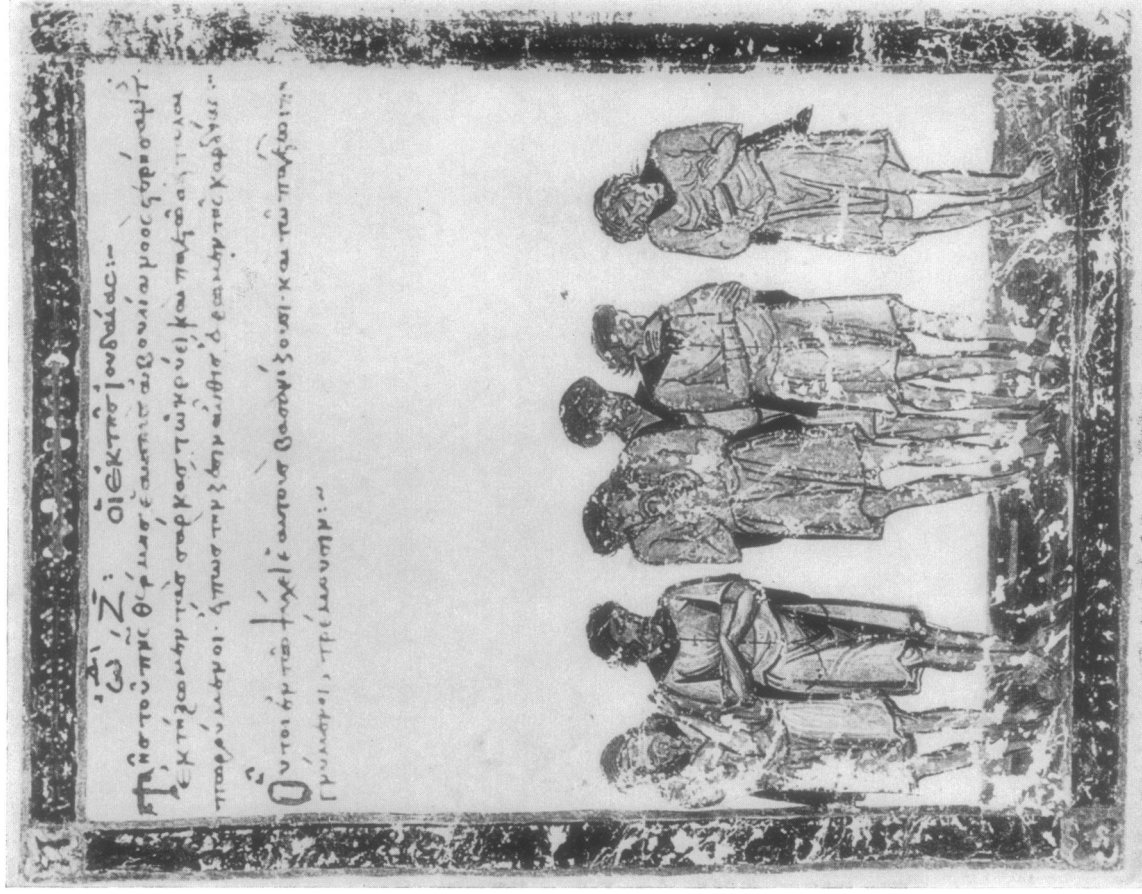
17. Dečani. Wall Painting



18. Istanbul, Kariye Camii, Parecclesion. Wall Painting



19. Istanbul, Kariye Camii, Parecclesion. Wall Painting



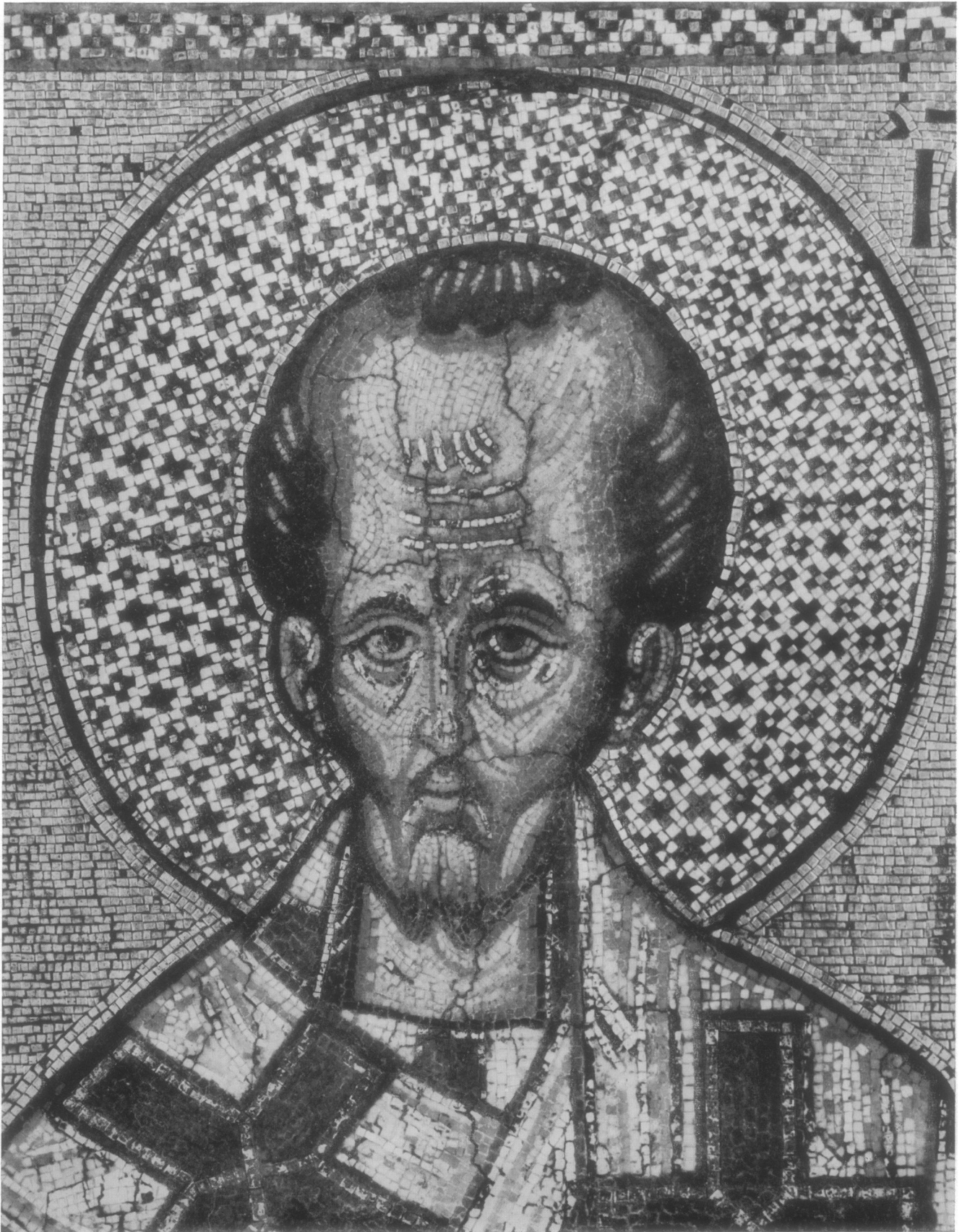
20. Vatican, Cod. gr. 1754, fol. 13v, Penitential Canon



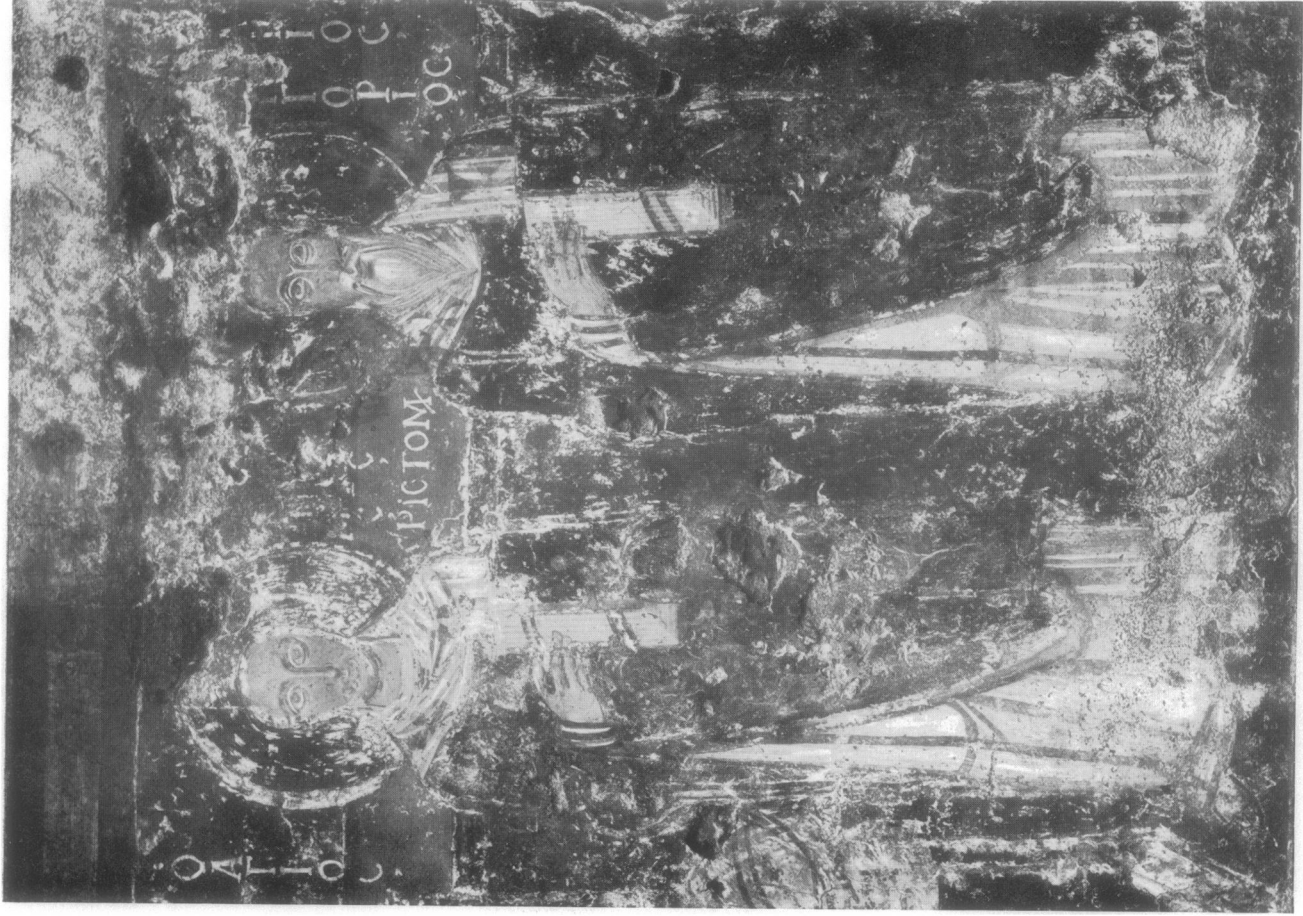
21. Athens, Byzantine Museum. Icon



22. Dumbarton Oaks Collection. Mosaic Icon, St. John Chrysostom



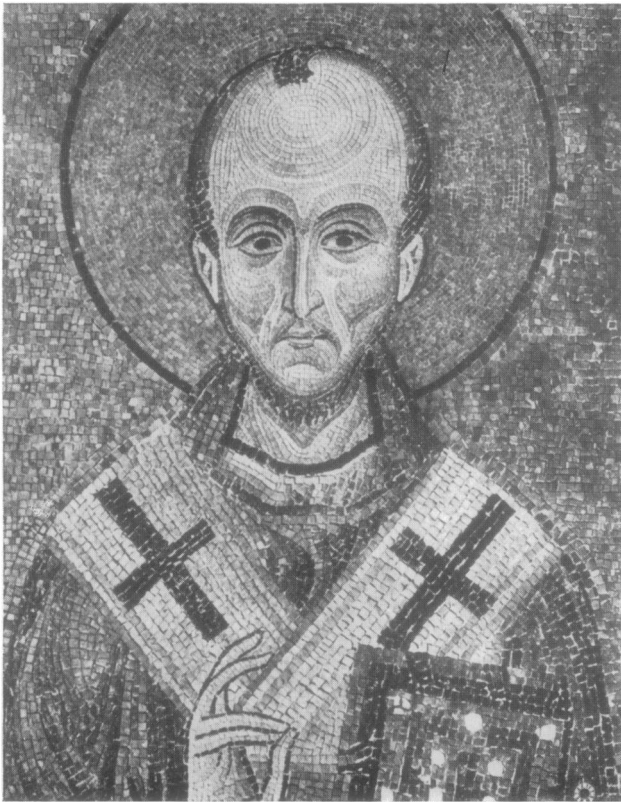
23. Dumbarton Oaks Collection. Mosaic Icon, St. John Chrysostom, detail



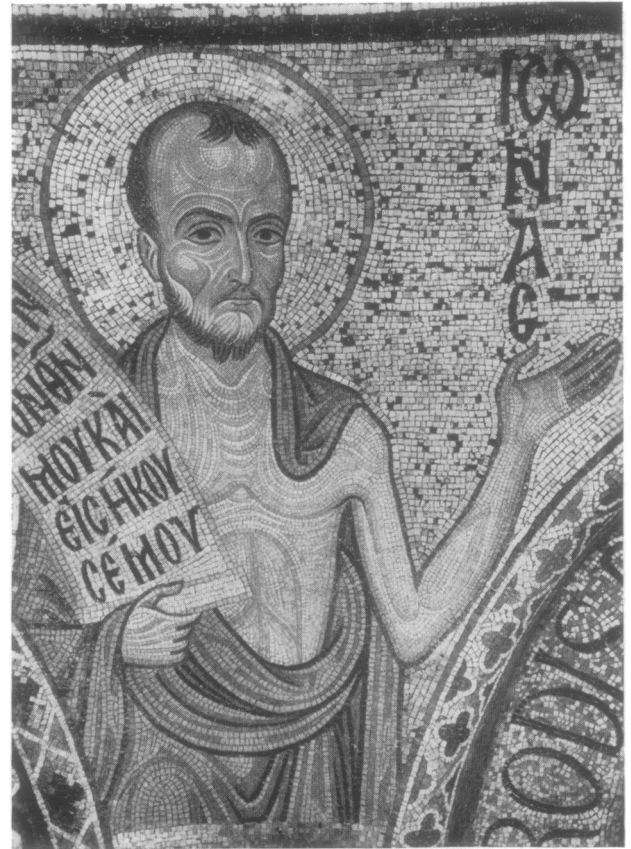
24. Rome, Sta Maria Antiqua, north Aisle. Wall Painting



25. Kiev, St. Sophia. Mosaic, detail



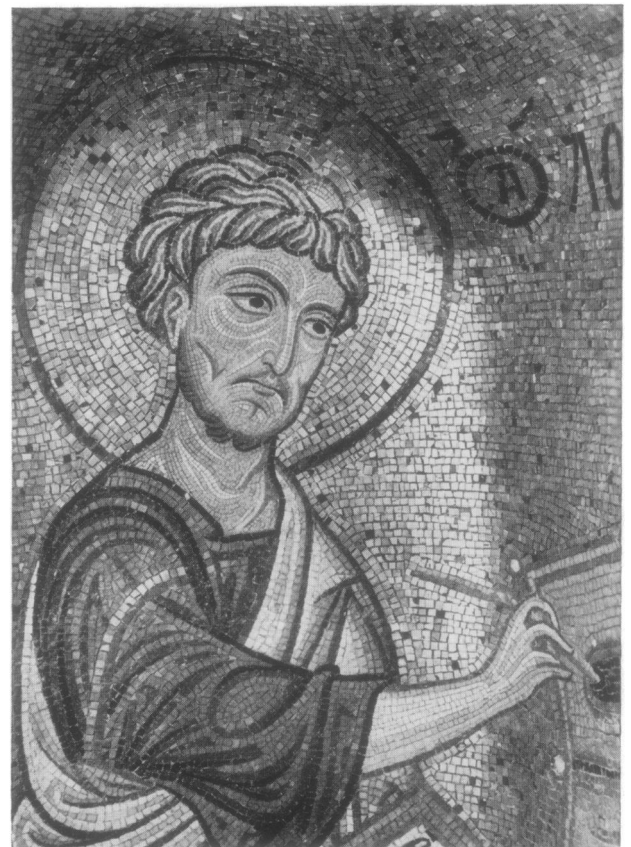
26. Palermo, Cappella Palatina. Mosaic, detail



27. Palermo, Cappella Palatina. Mosaic, detail



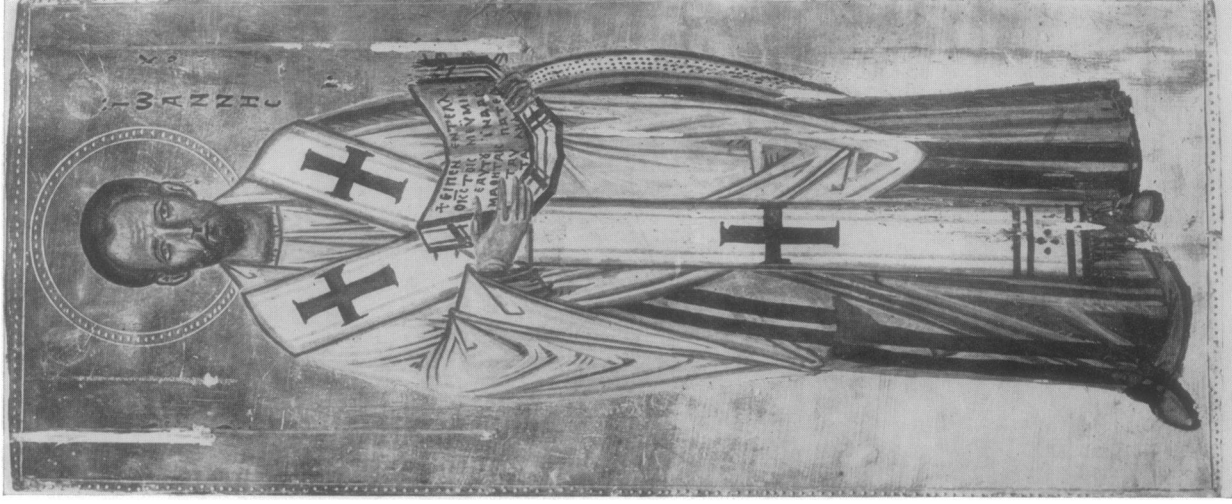
28. Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale. Coislin 79, fol. 2^v, detail



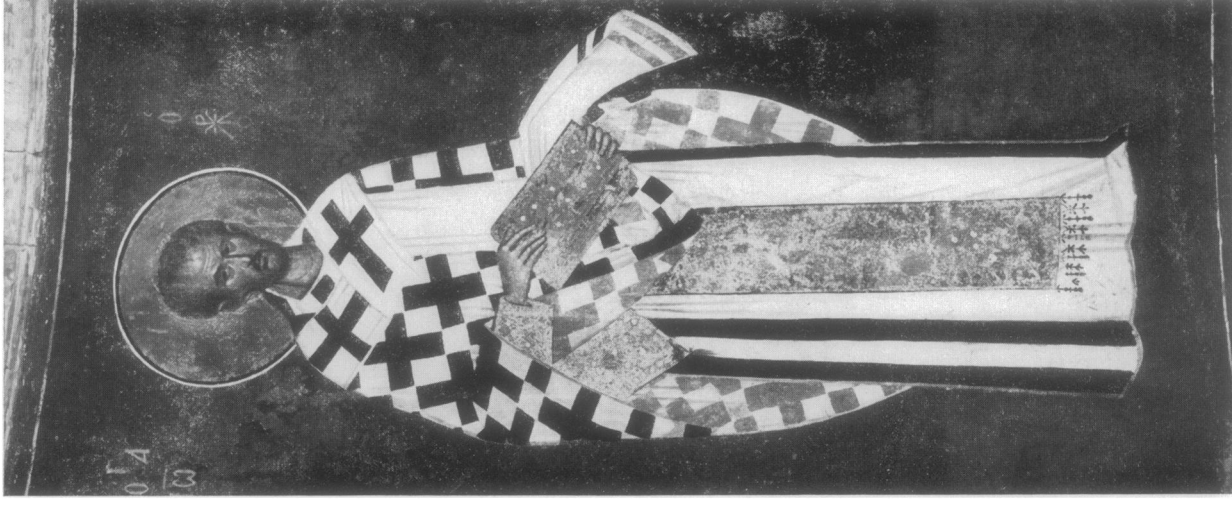
29. Palermo, Cappella Palatina. Mosaic, detail



30. Istanbul, Hagia Sophia, north Tympanum. Mosaic



31. Rome Sancta Sanctorum. Reliquary, detail



32. Istanbul, Kariye Camii, Parecclesion, Apse. Wall Painting

the icon—the formal calligraphy of the inscription and, finally, the inner frame of the mosaic: all these elements help to create a hieratic distance.

No such distance separates the Forty Martyrs of the other Dumbarton Oaks mosaic from the beholder; there is hardly any framing motif, there is no geometric, not even a symmetric, composition: the suffering and the heroism of the Martyrs are presented without being formalized by decorative geometry. There is an immediacy about this icon which is far removed from the liturgical atmosphere of St. John Chrysostom's portrait.

But above and beyond the difference in "mode,"¹³² imposed on the two artists by their subject matter, there is, undoubtedly, a strong discrepancy of style. To recognize this discrepancy it is enough to confront the face of St. John Chrysostom with a face of a similar ascetic type in the icon of the Forty Martyrs, e.g. the fifth face from the right, in the middle row. The modeling of the latter has an optical, an illusionistic, even a dramatic quality that is totally lacking in the portrait icon. It is, in the last resort, the antique, the renaissance quality that is missing in the mosaic of St. John Chrysostom: one feels that the time of the artistic rediscovery of Hellenism was over when this portrait was made. Both mosaics are masterpieces of Palaeologan art; but only one of them is a work of the Palaeologan Renaissance.

¹³² For the concept of "mode" as distinct from "style," see E. Kitzinger, *Byzantine Art, passim*, esp. p. 39.